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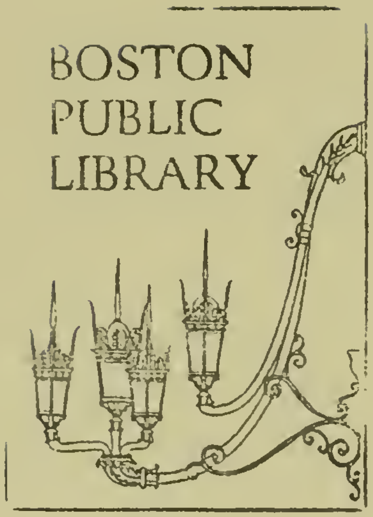

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ECONOMIC GROWTH AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT:
THE BOSTON LEATHER DISTRICT, 1640 - 1915

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A Thesis Presented by

DIANE CAROL MELISH

To The Department of
ART HISTORY

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the
Degree of Bachelor of Arts With
Honors at Wellesley College
May 10, 1974

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Chapter 1

DEFINITION OF A MODEL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY VERNACULAR COMMERCIAL ARCHITECTURE

Architecture and urban form in nineteenth century American cities has until recently received little formal and integrative consideration by architects and scholars. Although John Coolidge attributes this to the inability of historians "to evolve a coherent picture of an age which has to its credit such a diversity of achievement,"[1] certain topics have been widely covered and emphasized by architectural historians. More specifically, the approach Sir Nikolaus Pevsner applies to the study of architecture has all too frequently been employed in the study of nineteenth century urban architecture -- that is, the interpretation of architecture as visual art. As Pevsner states, "Nearly everything that encloses space on a scale sufficient for a human being to move in is a building; the term architecture applies only to buildings designed with a view to aesthetic appeal."[2] The less aesthetic forces which contribute to the form and development of architecture and urban spaces are thus largely ignored. "Architecture is not the product of materials and purposes -- nor by the way of social conditions --," writes Pevsner, but of the changing spirits of changing times."[3] Architecture is therefore fixed in the realm of the

fine arts, untouched by the more ignoble forces of economics, social conditions, and politics -- factors which because of functional and high cost characteristics, perhaps tend to influence the nature of architecture to a greater degree than painting or sculpture.

In the study of the nineteenth century as well as other periods, academic attention focused on monumental buildings and individuals. Buildings determined to be stylistically distinguished have received the greater portion of scholarly consideration, as have the architects of these buildings and their less prominent works. Individuals, such as H.H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan, have been studied in depth, yet the relationships of their buildings to the total of the city and to local social and economic pressures, and their influences upon less well known contemporary architects, have not been adequately investigated. Obscure architects and developers have been largely ignored. Nevertheless, it was the unrecognized local architects and developers who planned and executed the majority of the buildings within the city, and therefore contributed preponderantly to urban form.

Basically followers in architectural design and technology, the majority of local architects produced no outstanding buildings. Rather, their compliance

with trends, traditions, and urban and client pressures led them to design districts unified by design and scale, and representative of the architecture of the city within a period. Thus, collectively, these architects are worthy of further study, for their works indicate the acceptance or rejection of more progressive architectural forms, and the way in which these forms were economically influenced in creating vernacular urban architecture.

Consequently, a study of the commercial buildings produced during the nineteenth century by local architects perhaps offers a more precise indicator of urban form during this period. Since architecture did undergo an industrial revolution of its own during the latter part of the century, it is important to understand the degree to which stylistic, and more significantly structural, innovations of the period influenced the appearance and spacial qualities of the entire city, and not just the "monuments". The extent to which time differences between introduction and popular acceptance of innovative designs, as well as the vernacular modifications of these designs forced by outside pressures, affected urban form bears closer investigation. The nineteenth century was certainly a time of great change in urban architecture, due in part to industrialization, immigration, and the con-

committant growth of urban areas. It is important, therefore, to determine the response of architects and developers to urban demands, and to ascertain the effect of changing urban pressures upon urban development and form.

The state of the architectural profession in the latter part of the nineteenth century also affected urban architecture, for architects were just beginning to be recognized as professionals. Previously, architects had received little formal training, particularly in America, so that most buildings were designed and built by craftsmen. By 1880, however, schools of architecture were firmly established in the United States[4], and more buildings were being designed by professionally and natively trained men. In particular, the design of commercial complex buildings was being done increasingly by professional architects. A large portion of commercial buildings were designed, however, under constrained conditions created by the economic motives of the owner-developers. Since many of the developers were not building for prestige or aesthetic appeal, the architects' energies were directed toward the economic and utilitarian aspects of architecture, with stylistic considerations a secondary goal. Thus, in the common architecture of the nineteenth century, ornamentation became simplified,

structure proven and conservative, building and land use maximized, and especially, the whole concept of building conformed with local practices.

In order to discover the extent and substance of economic influences on commercial vernacular architecture, it was necessary to intensively study a fairly well-defined urban area. For the purposes of this study, the Boston Leather District met the criteria for such a study of nineteenth century architecture. None of the buildings in the Leather District serve as an example of progressive or distinctive architectural achievements in the nineteenth century or in modern studies of the period, and the architects working in the district were all local practitioners of relative obscurity. The district itself was completely redeveloped from residential use to high density commercial usage between 1880 and 1922, with most of the construction occurring between 1880 and 1900. Thus, the area serves as an excellent example of nineteenth century architectural style and structure in Boston during a period of rapid national change in architecture. More significantly, however, the area has retained its nineteenth century character, in both form and function, largely due to location and isolation from downtown Boston. Cut off from modern urban expansion by the

Fitzgerald Expressway and its ramps, and by South Station and adjacent railroad yards, the area has not yet been discovered by local developers or subjected to urban renewal.[5] Consequently, the Leather District offers an opportunity to study the commercial architecture and urban form of Boston in an area existing largely as it was developed in the late nineteenth century.[6]

The period of development of the Leather District was dynamic in terms of architecture and Boston's development. Although he died in 1886, H.H. Richardson still held considerable influence in Boston, and the architectural events in New York and Chicago were close enough to be followed with interest, speculation, and imitation in Boston. Moreover, just prior to the advent of the skyscraper, the commercial district in downtown Boston was completely destroyed by fire, so that a major part of the city had to be rebuilt. Although the Leather District was not directly affected by the fire, the area stood in the consequent path of commercial expansion in Boston. Thus, new structural techniques coupled with a city in the process of complete redevelopment and expansion greatly affected the late nineteenth century development of the Leather District, for many commercial activities displaced by the fire were

forced to find new and larger quarters in areas adjacent to the commercial core.

The Leather District itself has not yet been studied formally, since it is nondescript and safe from demolition. Consequently, little is known of the factors behind its development or the relationship of individual buildings, developers, and architects to the form of the entire district, to architectural development of the period, and to the economic pressures within Boston which prompted its development. Since previous studies of Boston have centered around residential areas and isolated commecial buildings, and since the district is one of the few of its kind still intact, the study of the Leather District is important not only as an isolated report, but also as an insight into commercial architecture in Boston and the city's response to urban demands.

Inasmuch as the Leather District is one of the few commercial districts from the nineteenth century in New England, and as the historical value of vernacular architecture poses as great a questions to historic preservation as to the study of architectural history, a secondary purpose of this analysis is to relate historical development to preservation criteria and goals. As the district is not characterized by

distinctive buildings, location, or historical events, the question of whether or not to preserve the area relies more heavily on the spacial qualities achieved by the district as a whole. Even if the unified development and appearance of the Leather District may warrant preservation, modern pressures for redevelopment and higher density place the area in jeopardy. It is hoped that through the determination of forces influencing the development, that criteria will later be established for a preservation study of the Leather District.

* * * *

One of the problems in undertaking such a study of economic relationships to architecture is to define a mode of analysis. Just as the extant literature has focused on monumental buildings and their architects, it has also failed to provide a fundamental conceptual framework for the study of vernacular urban areas.

There is a considerable nember of regional or municipal studies, but they tend to be either undocumented, as W.H. Kilham's Boston After Bulfinch: An Account of its Architecture,[7] or "tour guide" in style and content, such as Henry-Russell Hitchcock's A Guide to Boston Architecture, 1637 - 1954.[8] Most of the remaining literature is based upon individual

buildings by prominent architects, either in discussions of a single period (T.F. Hamlin, Greek Revival Architecture in America[9]) or in broader considerations of American and European architecture (Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries;[10] Sigfried Giedion, Space, Time and Architecture;[11] Lewis Mumford, Roots of Contemporary American Architecture[12]) There are, however, some more innovative studies of the period and of American architecture, where factors other than monumental style are investigated. Some architectural historians, such as Vincent Scully, have begun to study architecture as relating to built environment, yet most of these works analyze resultant visual forms and spaces, and not the factors which influenced the development of those forms and spaces. Others, such as Carl Condit, emphasize structural technology and building practices as a way of analyzing architectural development. The amount of scholarly attention directed to social and economic forces in architecture, however, is limited, and exceedingly difficult to obtain.

The most significant interpretations of nineteenth century architecture are case studies of areas in and around Boston. The most notable of these is Bainbridge Bunting's Houses of Boston's Back Bay,[13] which investi-

gates in detail the styles of residences and the patterns of development of the Back Bay. Although Bunting thoroughly analyzes the architectural development of the Back Bay, he does not incorporate many economic factors into his study. Perhaps the consideration of such factors is inappropriate for a residential study, for return on investment and cost-control are rarely major building factors for home-owners, especially in an area of prominent and wealthy families such as the Back Bay. The Bunting approach to the study of architecture is also employed by the Boston Landmarks Commission in conducting preservation studies. Most recently, this type of documentation has been thoroughly conducted by Mary VanMeter for a study of the Bay Village, a district of early nineteenth century vernacular residences near Park Square, and by the Commission for a study of the Waterfront, a collection of early and mid nineteenth century warehouses -- designed by both prominent and anonymous Boston architects -- near the Harbor.

Most similar to this paper in focus and methodology is John Coolidge's Mill and Mansion.[14] Coolidge undertakes this study since "the only means of discovering affinities between distinct groups of structures is to make a close analysis both of their origins and of their characters. ... Thereby [this

study_7 hopes to suggust a basis on which a comprehensive and consistent image of nineteenth century American architecture could some day be built."[15] In the analysis of the architecture of Lowell, Massachusetts, Coolidge investigates the economics of the mill industry, the wealth created by the industry, the technology of mill and industrial construction, and the relationship of these factors to industrial and residential structures, in form, function, and construction, of nineteenth century Lowell. More important, Coolidge has recognized the importance of studying vernacular urban architecture and of relating industrial and other economic factors to this architecture in order to understand the period. Since Coolidge's area was large, however, he could place little emphasis on the relationship between architecture and the resultant urban forms and spaces. This analysis thus differs from the Coolidge study in that a smaller district, developed within a shorter span of time and for a single major use, is considered, and the relationships, physical and economic, between buildings and the district are a major focus.

The purpose of this paper is to relate late nineteenth century "vernacular" commercial architecture to changing national architectural styles and technology, and to local and national economic conditions. Specif-

ically, the pattern of development of the Boston Leather District, as related to use and form, and as resulting from economic preesures, will be investigated in this study. The thesis is that nineteenth century commercial architecture was affected to a great extent by various economic forces, achieving in the process of development a unification in form and spacial qualities that applies to whole areas. It will also be shown that, if the total form of the district achieves the quality missing in the individual parts, common commercial buildings may be worthy of preservation if the buildings exist as a fairly complete urban space.

In order to relate the architecture and economic development of the Leather District, the research was divided into three parts. First, the dates of development of the present form of the area had to be ascertained. This was accomplished through building permits, located in the Boston Building Department. Permits were found for most of the buildings presently standing in the Leather District, even though permits were issued in Boston only after 1872. Information found in the building permits included date, owner, architect, builder, materials, and size of each building, and some structural data. The permits proved to be valuable in determining which

building practices and regulations were emphasized, as well as supplying specific architectural information. Since building permits rarely exist prior to 1872, research of historical development in the area from 1640 to 1872 was conducted through city atlases, title searches, and maps. The atlases, in the form of detailed maps, were useful in ascertaining size, materials, coverage, and owners of buildings, and through comparison, approximate dates of new construction. Title searches, the investigation of all transactions and liens concerning a specific parcel, were conducted to obtain the price of the parcels and more detailed information than found in the atlases. The searches proved to be of little value, however, for prices were rarely mentioned, and uses and structures were not fully described. Because of the minimal value of the title searches, atlases and directories were relied upon for building and use information for the post-1872 period as well. The years studied were chosen to compare pre-leather oriented development (1867, 1874), with the period of extensive late nineteenth century development (1883, 1888, 1898), and with the small amount of early twentieth century development (1917, 1922). Land use and development in areas adjacent to the Leather District were also determined through city atlases, and were

described adequately, for the purposes of this study, in local histories.

The second phase of research involved investigating economic factors related most closely with the development of the Leather District and determining local attitudes as they affected Bostonians' responses to economic conditions. Local histories, providing more detailed information concerning Boston than period or topical histories, were used to trace the development of the railroad and leather industries in Boston, building regulations in the city, and changing local attitudes toward these economic factors. More specific information was foung regarding the first major development of the area, in the 1830's, as the Reports to the Board of Directors of the South Cove Corporation still exist in complete form. These reports provided valuable insight into economic motives, degree of success, and reasons for failures of the developmental project, in addition to affording a glimpse into the prevailing attitudes of the citizenry and directors of the corporation to railroad and real estate development in Boston. In order to relate the development of the Leather District to the individuals most actively involved in each era, biographical information was found in city directories. These directories were, however, limited in scope, and

so provided insight into only a few individuals.

The third phase of research sought to place the local forces behind architecture and development into a broader context of national architectural trends and economic conditions. Although the literature of nineteenth century American architecture does not fully relate architecture to economic conditions, the descriptions of style in these works were adequate for the purposes of comparing the buildings in the Leather District to national design concepts and forms. Economic conditions of this period were also studied in broad works, which proved sufficient when supplemented with local histories.

The most unique aspect of this paper is the use of computers to aid in the analysis of the relationships between urban form and development. The language employed was Discourse, and urban planning language developed at the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Discourse allows the user to program pieces of information concerning specific parcels for a given number of years, and to display these factors in maps, charts, and graphs. Certain parcel factors may be grouped for the area for a given year or combined over a number of years, displaying developmental trends within the district.

Discourse thus provides a way in which to analyze developmental trends and the relationships between developmental factors, and to visually present the results. The data programmed for the Leather District consisted mainly of data culled from city atlases -- owner, coverage, material, and height of individual buildings and parcels -- and use. While a more complete analysis could be conducted using additional architectural design and structural information, as derived from building permits and observations, and information concerning the grouping of forms and spaces, it was deemed sufficient to program the more basic data, especially because of strict time limitations. In addition, computer analysis has not yet been used to analyze urban forms and spaces, and so the information was restricted in order to test the applicability of the language to this type of study.

The ultimate goal of this thesis is to test the validity of studying architecture through methods other than through strict stylistic interpretations. The development of urban forms and spaces is here the issue, and it is hoped that by recognizing the role of urban forces in the development of architecture that some insight will be provided into the forms urban architecture historically assumes.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1 John Coolidge, *Mill and Mansion*, New York, 1942, 4.

2 Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture*, Baltimore, 1968, 15.

3 *Ibid.*, 17.

4 Professionally trained architects did exist in the United States prior to the Civil War, but they tended to be trained in France in the Beaux-Arts. The first school of architecture to be established in this country was in Boston -- at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1868.

5 The proposals by the Boston Redevelopment Authority for the redevelopment of the South Station area and South Cove do not include the Leather District as defined in this paper.

6 The construction of the Fitzgerald Expressway in the mid-1950's did destroy very little of the Leather District, except to isolate the area. The only building destroyed as a result of the Expressway was the United States Hotel; upon that site now stands a garage and office building built in 1955.

7 Walter H. Kilham, *Boston After Bulfinch: An Account of its Architecture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1946.

8 Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *A Guide to Boston Architecture, 1637 -1954*, New York, 1954.

9 T.F. Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in* America, New York, 1944.

10 Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Baltimore, 1958.

11 Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1949.

[12] Lewis Mumford ed., _The Roots of Contemporary American Architecture_, New York, 1952.

[13] Bainbridge Bunting, _Houses of Bostons's Back Bay_, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967.

[14] Coolidge, _Mill and Mansion_.

[15] _Ibid_., 4,5.

Chapter 2

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH COVE: 1640 - 1830

The area now occupied by the Leather District was, until the 1830's, largely under water, in the area known as the South Cove. During the seventeenth century, the area around the Cove was primarily residential in use and form. A map from the 1640's indicates the shoreline as running roughly along East Street east of South Street, and running between Tufts and Essex Streets west of South Street, forming what is presently the northern boundary of the Leather District. The land adjoining the South Cove during the early period consisted mainly of houses on large plots, owned by craftsmen and workers.[1] At that time, there were probably few or no commercial activities, for wharves had not yet appeared on the shoreline, streets were little more than paths, and the commercial activities in Boston occurred in large proportions in the vicinity of the Town Cove, the main harbor in Boston located to the north of the South Cove.

The laying out of official streets began to appear in the South Cove area in the late seventeenth century. In 1678 a highway fifty feet from the shoreline was continued between South Street and Windmill Point. Named Essex Street in 1708, the street was occasionally referred to as "Beach near South Street"

-- a name which was to create confusion after Beach Street was laid out in the nineteenth century.[2] In 1708 South Street[3] and Sea Street[4] were also officially named. Kneeland Street, originally a creek, was laid out shortly after 1732. Named for Solomon Kneeland, a leather dresser who first bought land in the area in 1731-1732, the street extended only about one hundred yards east of Orange Street.[5] In 1793, Lincoln Street was laid by Benjamin Fessenden, Jr. connecting Summer and Essex Streets.[6]

The Burgis Map of 1728 shows the South Cove as having a layout and use similar to that of the seventeenth century, yet the introduction of commercial activity appeared at this time as shown in the addition of Hill's Wharf at the end of South Street and the naming of the end of Sea Street as Windmill Point.[7] The 1769 edition of Bonner's Map shows an increase of five wharves on the beach south of Essex Street between Orange (now Washington) and Sea Streets.[8] The Cove in which the wharves were located was dry at low tide, a fact which probably limited the amount of trading conducted in the area.

The development of commercial activities in the South Cove, centered around wharf-related businesses,

increased during the early part of the nineteenth century. An 1806 map shows an increase of wharves in the area, especially east of South Street.[9] By 1814 the shoreline of the South Cove had been built up of continuous wharves, running from the foot of Essex Street around Windmill Point to Kneeland Street. The building of these wharves also brought the first filling of the area, as Sea Street was extended into the Cove, with wharves on the east and west sides of the extension.[10] More significant, however, was the extension of the wharves south of Essex Street into the Cove, creating Front Street on the westerly shore of the South Cove. The construction of Front Street was the "first systematic and cooperative enterprise having in view the enlargement of the limits of Boston by making new land."[11] Chartered in 1804,[12] the Front Street Corporation was composed of persons with estates bordering the Cove east of Washington Street and south of Beach Street, each of whom filled in the flats bordering his own land. The project was begun in May 1804, and completed in October 1805, adding nine acres to Boston.[13]

The extension of Sea Street in 1828 across the Cove, resulting in a free bridge and direct access to South Boston, increased the value of the South Cove as a commercial district.[14] The South Cove

in effect linked the commercial and financial center of Boston to the largely undeveloped area of South Boston, in the shortest possible route, and thus the Cove area became the direction of Boston's commercial growth.

Although the history of the South Cove prior to 1830 does not include the Leather District itself, the historical development of adjacent areas indicate the developmental direction the whole district was to assume. By 1830, the South Cove had asserted itself as a thriving commercial area centered around the wharves and distill industry.[15] The area was also strategically located: within ten minutes walking distance of the center of Boston, adjacent to the Fort Point Channal to the east and the developed Boston Harbor to the north-east, and serving as a link between Boston proper, South Boston, and the Boston Neck, which connected Boston to the inland communities. Perhaps most important, however, was the physical nature of the Cove itself -- flats dry at low tide yet adjacent to a deep channal. The physical characteristics and location of the South Cove were consequently significant factors in the decision to enlarge the dry land limits of Boston by filling in the Cove. Therefore, by 1830, by which time the use of fill to create new land had

become a precedented event in Boston,[16] the South Cove was ripe for exploitation by Boston developers seeking new areas to develop on the small and increasingly crowded Boston Peninsula.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 2

[1] George Lamb, *Old Boston: Compiled From the Book of Possessions*, Boston, 1881, map 6.

[2] Annie Twing, *The Crooked and Narrow Streets of Boston*, Detroit, 1970, 178.

[3] *Ibid.*, 181.

[4] *Ibid.*, 180. Sea Street is now covered by South Station and Atlantic Avenue. In 1660 it was referred to as the "highway next to the seaside" and "Rope Lane" because of its proximity to rope walks.

[5] *Ibid.*, 235.

[6] *Ibid.*, 184.

[7] Thomas Johnson, *The Burgis Map of Boston*, 1728. Windmill Point was named after the windmill located on the point between the Fort Point Channal and the South Cove, as shown in a lithograph in Walter Whitehill, *Boston: A Topographical History*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968, 77.

[8] John Bonner, *A Plan of y Great Town of Boston in New England*, 1769. These wharves condistill houses, as did Hill's Wharf.

[9] W. Norman, *A New Plan of Boston*, 1806.

[10] J.G. Hales, *Map of Boston*, 1814.

[11] Justin Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, 4 vol, Boston, 1881 - 1883, IV, 31.

[12] The chartering of the Front Street Corporation was a companion act to the annexation of South Boston and the South Boston Bridge Act -- in all, legislated "package-deal" to promote the development of South Boston. Whitehill, *Topogographical History*, 76, 77.

13 Winsor, *Memorial History*, 31. Winsor here states that the Front Street Corporation "was the first systematic and cooperative enterprise having in view the enlargement of the limits of Boston by making new land."

14 According to Whitehill, the annexation of South Boston and the incorporation of the Front Street Corporation were political maneuvers designed to promote the development of Dorchester Neck (South Boston) by land speculators -- primarily the members of the Mt. Vernon Proprietors, the developers of Beacon Hill. The authorization of the construction of a toll bridge to South Boston and the incorporation of the Front Street Corporation occurred similtaneously, along with the naming of the South Boston "speculators" as proprietors of the South Boston Bridge Act. The bridge failed to bring about the development of South Boston, however, primarily as a result of the long distance between the center of Boston and South Boston. Critics claimed that a continuation of Sea Street would have resulted in a longer bridge, but a shorter total distance. Such a location , however, would have jeopardized the waterfront rights of the Front Street Corporation. A bridge extending Sea Street to South Boston was finally chartered in 1826, after two decades of arguments, and opened in 1828. The effect of this more direct bridge was to undermine the property of the South Boston Bridge Corporation, in decreasing the amount of traffic carried by the Old South Boston Bridge. (W. Whitehill, *Topographical History*, 75-78.)

15 Drake states, "Prior to 1793 the neighborhood of Essex and South Streets was largely occupied by distilleries. In 1794 the town contained no less than thirty. The oldest in this vicinity, long in possession of the French family, is found as early as 1714, operated by Henry Hill, and later by Thomas Hill. Besides this, there were also Child's on Essex Street, and Avery's and Haskins' distilleries, between Essex and Beach Streets." He attributes the prevalence of distilleries to "they [Bostonians] preferred Maderia, Malaga, or Oporto to French wines, but their ordinary beverage was rum." (S.A. Drake, *Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston*, Boston, 1900, 406, 18.)

Title searches conducted in the Suffolk

County Courthouse also indicate that distilleries were located in the South Cove at least until 1811.

1) On October 25, 1811, David S. Ingersoll, a Charlestown merchant, sold land and a distill house to Fitch Tufts, a Boston distiller, on the present location of 77 South Street. (folio 238 libra 273)
2) The description of the parcel in the above deed indicates a distill house located west of that parcel, owned by Thomas Hill and on the present location of Lincoln and Tufts Streets.

16 In addition to the Front Street project, an old colonial order proclaimed, "that all creeks, coves, and other places about and upon salt water where the sea ebbs and flows, the propietor of the land adjoining shall have propriety to the low water mark" This order was in part responsible for early land reclamation from marshes in Boston and provided and incentive to shape the property rights to a constant extension of the low water mark.
(State Street Trust Company, Boston's Growth, Boston, 1910, 18.)

Chapter 3

THE SOUTH COVE AS A PLANNED DEVELOPMENT: 1830 - 1880

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The development of the South Cove during the 1830's was closely related to the development of railroads in Massachusetts in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, for the area was planned as a terminus for the railroad lines extending west and south of Boston. The history of early railroading in Massachusetts therefore warrants consideration, for timing of and local attitudes toward the first railroads in the Commonwealth directly affected the outcome of the South Cove development.

The first railroad in the country was located in Boston -- the horse-powered Granite Railroad. Chartered in May 1826, the railway was built by Gridley Bryant to convey granite from Quincy to Boston for the building of the Bunker Hill Monument.[1] Spurred on by the succuss of his venture, Bryant created a railroad party in the Commonwealth to promote the building of more railroads and to rechannal local interests in canals to railroads.[2] Thus, in the fall of 1826, Col. Thomas Perkins, the financier of the Granite Railroad, presented a petition to the State Legislature requesting that surveys be conducted for a railroad connecting

Boston to the Hudson River. Upon recommendation by Dr. Abner Phelps, a representative from Boston, a joint committee was ordered by the House to sit during recess to "consider the practicality and expediency of constructing such a railway."[3] Although the Senate failed to concur, the House appointed a distinguished committee to look into the matter.[4] This act proved to be the first concerted action in Massachusetts in the investigation into the construction of a commercial railway through the Commonwealth. "That it was not taken was also unquestionable due to Bryant's success in obtaining a charter for the smaller enterprise, which, having a distinct object in view, both practical and patriotic, had not aroused conservative apprehensions."[5] The final report of the committee was issued in January 1827, yet despite the advent of steam-powered locomotives in England spoke only of a magnified "Granite Railroad" through Massachusetts.[6]

From 1826 to 1830 little happened regarding the construction of railroads in Massachusetts, due largely to the indifference of the country state representatives and to the shifting of the center of national economic activity from Boston to New York City.[7] These four years were to serve, according to Charles F. Adams in _The Canal and Railroad Enterprise of_

Boston, as the educational stage of railroading in Massachusetts.[8] Nathan Hale, the editor of the "Daily Advertiser" and a member of the Board of Directors of Internal Improvements, became the most influential "educator", as he reported the latest railroading advances in America and abroad. The Board of Internal Improvements, chosen by the State Legislature in 1828, issued in 1829 a report on the potential of railroads in the Commonwealth, discussing the costs and benefits of such a system and recommending that railroads were a practical maeans of transporting commercial and industrial goods and materials.[9] In January 1830 petitions were presented to the legislature for the incorporation of private railroad companies in the state,[10] and the age of railroading began in Massachusetts.

At the outset, the Boston and Worcester Railroad, which terminated in the South Cove and extended as far as Worcester, aroused the most interest in Boston, for there were many stockholders and many holders of only a few shares, in addition to a large amount of stock taken by businessmen desirous of promoting a western line. The Boston and Worcester Railroad was first used to haul gravel from Boston suburbs on April 4, 1834, and a few days later carried its first passengers -- a trial trip

to Newton taking , at 20 miles per hour, 39 minutes. By May 1834 the railroad was conducting regular service between Boston and points east of Worcester, and by June 1835 the line had been completed to Worcester.[11] One hundred passengers per day were carried between Boston and Worcester as of 1838, indicating to some degree the success of the line.[12]

The Old Colony Railroad, which opened between Boston and Plymouth in 1845,[13] also located its terminal in the South Cove. This line grew by aquisitions, expanding its service to the South Shore and Rhode Island during the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1870 this line held more miles of track -- 475 -- than any other system in Massachusetts.[14]

The third railroad to terminate in the South Cove was the Western Railroad, using the Boston and Worcester's depots. Chartered in 1833, the line reached Albany from Worcester in the winter of 1841-1842.[15] The Western thus served as an extension of the Boston and Worcester in joining Boston to upper New York State and the Erie Canal.

The three initial railroads in Boston, the Boston and Worcester, the Boston and Providence, and the Boston and Lowell, were largely completed by 1835, by which time they incorporated 120 miles of track at a cost of $3,000,000. -- most of which

had been raised in Boston.[15] These roads, however, proved to be less profitable than the Middlesex Canal, and thus the financing of the Western over the Berkshires proved difficult. Although the Western Railroad was eventually built by outside capital and state aid, and separate from the Boston and Worcester Railroad,[16] the completion of a railroad line linking Boston to the Erie Canal was achieved too late to place Boston in favorable railroad competion with New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia.[17] For indeed, the initial skeptical response of Bostonians to railroads and the subsequent delay created in popularizing the acceptance of this new mode of transportation, only increased the railroading gap between Boston and other major Eastern ports.

* * * *

The development of the South Cove was fostered largely by the momentum behind railroad development in Boston in the 1830's. As the need for railroad terminals within the city increased, the South Cove was viewed by developers as the most advantageous location for the terminals, for the Cove was adjacent to a channal which would allow direct transferral of freight between railroad cars and ships. The charter to fill in the Cove and provide a terminal for the Boston and Worcester Railroad was awarded to the South Cove Corporation, which was incorporated on January 31, 1833.[1] The Act of Incorporation not only awarded powers in the development of the Cove, but also regulated the railroad development,[2] waterfront development,[3] wharf access,[4] property rights,[5] and municipal obligations.[6] Thus, a forerunner of municipal building regulations were established for the development of the South Cove, in order to protect other property owners in the area and city interests.

The agreement between the South Cove Corporation and the Boston and Worcester Railroad was finalized in April 1833, at which time the Corporation provided a $75,000. bonus to the railroad for the location of all railroad depots within the Cove.[7] At that time, the area was also laid out in plan,

and five hundred shares of $800. each ($400,000. total) were subscribed to finance the purchase of the land flats and adjacent real estate, the actual filling in of the Cove, and the bonus to the railroad.[8] In 1834 the mood of the South Cove developers was optimistic, especially regarding the demand for real estate and the value of land in the city[9], and the future of railroading in the state.[10] It was also expected that a second railroad would enter the South Cove -- the proposed line to Tauton [11] -- and that the Boston and Providence Railroad would eventually build a merchandize depot in the Cove.[12]

Railroads were thus forecast as the foundation of commercial activity in the South Cove, both as a means of transporting goods from outside the city and as a means of transporting goods within the district itself. The first Report of the Board of Directors of the Corporation so states: "It is intended that rail-tracks shall be laid down in all the pricipal streets, so that, if effect, vessels, as well as rail-cars, can communicate with every store, and goods can be moved with the greatest facility."[13] The laying out of tracks on the streets for internal transportation also indicates the optimistic view of railroads that the Corporation held, and became a unique model of land use planning

incorporating railroads in Boston -- a model which would later influence the development of street cars for local public transportation fifty years later.

The Report to the Board of 1835 continued the optimism shown in the report of the previous year, as land was expected to rise in value by the time of actual sale,[14] and the railroad had continued its tracks to the edge of the Cove.[15] "The immense amount of business, heretofore almost exclusively confined to State Street, and its immediate vicinity, seems to be fast diffusing towards the north and south portions of the City,"[16] states the report of that year. Railroads were not the only interest of the Corporation, for between 1834 and 1836 the South Cove Corporation was engaged in the buying and selling of land other than railroad concerns. The Corporation bought existing land adjacent to the filled area from individual owners, in order that the entire area be built as a unified development.[17] Perhaps the most significant of these transactions was with the Proprietors of the City Hotel Corporation. A lot on the corner of Beach and Lincoln Streets was sold to the Hotel Corporation in 1835,[18] and work on a hotel was commenced in 1836.[19] Ad-

ditional land was sold to the Hotel Corporation in 1837, for which the South Cove Corporation received $30,000. in stock of the Hotel Corporation at par value.[20] This latter exchange formed a vital link among the economic interests in the South Cove -- railroads, commercial, and developmental -- so that the subsequent success or failure of each would determine, in part, the fate of the others.

As of 1836 about one half of the filling in of the South Cove had been completed and the railroad was carrying passengers into the Cove depot opposite the proposed hotel.[21] Nevertheless, the sale of stock in the Corporation during its first two years had not been conducted as well as originally anticipated, due primarily to the unproven nature of the project and to skepticism of railroads in general. By 1837, the directors of the Corporation felt that some gains had been made, as the stock rose to fifty percent above par, and the corporate debts had been paid with a major portion of the project completed. The unsuccessful beginnings of the development, however, caused the directors to delay the selling of the completed parcels within the Cove until November 1837, at which time the railroad would have entered the South Cove terminal.[22]

The sudden financial crash of 1837-1838,[23] however, halted the planned sale of lots as well as severely afficting the entire development of the South Cove. The annual Report of 1838 states,"The year which has just closed has been one of great alarm and apprehension for operatives and capitalists. ... The disposition to purchase the most productive property and to risk the chances which usually accompany it, has given place to a preference for the more permanent and sure modes of investment."[24] Despite the adverse economic situation, ironically created by wild land speculation in the West, the directors of the Corporation still held characteristic optimism for the enterprise -- and the return of national economic stability. The financial problems of the Corporation were blamed on the national economy, rather than the validity of the project itself, as the report cited expectations of rising land values and the success of the hotel in the South Cove.[25]

In 1838 the connection between the Corporation and the City Hotel Corporation was discontinued, due to the burden of the hotel upon the South Cove Corporation's restricted resources.[26] In that year also the Western Railroad cars entered the Cove terminal from Springfield,[27] though

the Corporation remained in an unfavorable position regarding the sale of its land, for the state of the national economy determined that a public auction would yield little profit. Therefore, it was decided to auction 415 parcels to the stockholders, at prices fixed near cost. The more valuable parcels, such as the wharves, were not auctioned in order to await a more favorable period.[28] Despite the financial problems the Corporation had sustained since inception, the directors remained optimistic over the future of their investment: "From this view, it will be easy for every one to make his own estimate of the present value of the lands now belonging to the Corporation; and of their probable increase in value, when a great portion of the lots already sold shall have been built upon, ..."[29]

In 1839 the filling in of the South Cove was completed. The position of the Corporation remained unchanged however, for ther were no land transactions due to the unfavorable economic conditions for such a sale in the city -- yet the optimism of the directors was undiminished.[30]

Public auctions of land in the South Cove were finally introduced in 1841. Although the sale of 420 lots was open to the public, stockholders were

the only purchasers, probably since the profits of the sale were to be distributed as dividends among the shareholders.[31] Some of these lots subsequently were sold to non-stockholders, yet the majority of stockholders held on to their land, to await better financial circumstances for resale. Development of the area commenced in 1840, as 114 dwellings, 77 of which were brick, were constructed.[32]

Additional land auctions were held in 1841. Although the proceedings and conditions of this sale were not mentioned in the Board of Directors Reports, the report of 1842 states that 127 dwellings and stores, 114 of which were brick, were erected in the Cove in 1841.[33] Thus, by 1842 the South Cove began to realized the development the the directors of the Corporations had anticipated nine years earlier. Yet, although the Corporation had gone to much trouble and expense to develop the South Cove -- insecuring flats and fill, in purchasing adjacent estates, and in actually carrying out the operation -- and had added 77 acres and railroad terminals to the city, the corporation itself had not been able to achieve profits from the development.

The development of the South Cove serves as a classic case of poor real estate specualtion, for

the adverse financial conditions of the country, coupled with the innovative and unproven nature of the development, forced the developers to grant concessions, such as minimum price auctions, in order to finance the large debt incurred in development. Although it may be argued that the auctions shifted financial responsibilities from the Corporation to the stockholders, it still remains that the development itself was a failure economically. Railroads were introduced to the area, yet their presence created a negligible effect on the subsequent development and use in the area, except for the hotel. Dwellings became the major use in the area, as the tight money situation during the period of development restricted commercial relocation and the creation of new firms, and the unprecedented nature of the project left commercial activities unwilling to move into the new development. In addition, the unproven advantages of locating near to railroad terminals limited commercial activity in the South Cove, for the success of railroads in Massachusetts as of 1842 had not been established.

The development of the South Cove therefore illustrates the importance of precedence in real estate, especially in the image fixed in the minds

of potential investors during inception and execution of a project, and the disadvantages of relying too heavily on an improved commercial activity. Although the developers of the South Cove could not have been expected to foresee the financial disasters of 1837-1840, the risk involved in railroad-oriented development was, from the beginning, apparent. The South Cove was destined, therefore, not to become a visionary model of commercial activity and land use planning, but rather an area of extremely modest dwellings, mixed with residential-related commercial uses and the railroads.

Aside from the lack of mercantile interest in the area, the predominant use of low-cost dwellings was probably instituted as a result of the demand for inexpensive housing, created by the strong flow of immigrants into Boston, and the undesirability of the area for posher residences. In addition, the building of tenements would provide the owners of the lots with a reliable source of income with a minimal amount of maintenance. The poor timing and unprecedented aspects of the South Cove development thus forced the project to be realized much differently as originally planned, and consequently the type of development that was created cast an unprestigeous and undesirable attitue towards the

the area -- an attitude, despite later redevelopment, the area has not yet shaken.

Except for railroad structures and the United States Hotel, very little is known of the buildings existing in the Leather District between 1840 and 1880, for no prints or descriptions have been recorded to document appearance. It is known, however, that many of the buildings were three and four story dwellings, built of brick or wood. Brick structures, similar in size to Leather District buildings, still exist in Chinatown, in the vicinity of Harvard Street and Harrison Avenue. Since the style of these dwellings is typical of the early neneteenth century, it is probable that the Chinatown houses are similar to those of the Leather District The remains of the development that took place in the South Cove in the 1840's, these dwellings are not unlike low-cost structures built in neighboring sections of Boston in the same period.[1]

The facades of the dwellings are flat and simple in the Georgian tradition, with the falt stone lintels serving as the only form of ornamentation. Despite the narrow (20 feet) lots on which these buildings were situated, the continuous pitched roofs and uniformity of appearance give the whole a street facade that is harmonious in its continuity of forms. Al-

though not as elegant as the houses built on Beacon Hill and in the South End during the same period, for the South Cove houses were intended as purely functional buildiings, the dwellings nevertheless achieve a humanistic quality through the use of small scale and simplified elements.

Much more is known of the railroad buildings than of the residential and small commercial structures in the Leather District, for the railroad depots were often mentioned in nineteenth century local histories. The original Boston and Worcester Railroad Station, built in 1836, was "a rather plain structure, presenting no architectural features worthy of mention."[2] A low brick structure, the station displayed its utilitarian intentions in the simplified elements and flat surface. Although the station was considered a landmark by 1865, the railroad company felt it needed a more commodious and comfortable passenger station, and so in 1881 a new station was built on the same site.[3] Designed by Alexander Esty, the station was arranged longitudinally so that inward and outward traffic activities would occur in distinct and separate areas of the building. A large portico formed an entrance to the main waiting room, which was divided into separate areas for men and women. The ladies room

was especially luxurious, with "three large fireplaces fifteen feet in height, built of McGregor freestone -- a recognition of the aesthetic tendencies of times."[4] The "aesthetic tendencies of the times" also determined the form of the exterior, for the materials, pressed brick with granite trimmings,[5] and multiple pitched roofs were designed in a simplified version of the High Victorian Gothic, a style popular during the late 1870's and 1880's.

The other station located in the Leather District was that of the Old Colony Railroad built in 1847 at the southeast corner of South and Kneeland Streets.[6] The three story structure, built of brick and stone, "presents a plain substantial front."[7] The Old Colony Station, as well as the first Boston and Worcester Station, demonstrates the emphasis placed upon functional criteria in the design of railroad buildings during the early stages of railroad development. That the railroads were becoming more profitable, at least in terms of passenger traffic, in the late 1870's is also revealed in the architecture of the more elegant Boston and Albany Station of 1881.

The building most often mentioned in local histories, however, was the first and most important commercial activity of the Leather District aside

from the railroads -- the United States Hotel. Built in 1836, the hotel building was a combination of the plain Adams style and Jeffersonian classicism. The main body of the building was brick, flat and unornamented, and topped with a pitched roof with projecting dormers. The classical elements were used for ornamental elements in the portico, cornice, and ground floor shops. The Doric order was employed in the columns and entabletures, as was most common in Jeffersonian Classical buildings, providing relief for the flat surfaces of the whole. This effect was not fully achieved, however, since the classical forms were attached to, rather than integrated into the entire form of the structure. Despite its failings in style, the United States Hotel was a popular and profitable enterprise. The five story building was twice enlarged,[9] and was frequented by various types of people, from transient visitors to wealthy families seeking a winter residence.[10] The hotel was also the place in which Charles Summer entertained Charles Dickens during his American tour, and served for a time as the home of Daniel Webster.[11]

The early nineteenth century architecture of the Leather District, based upon the humble beginnings of the South Cove Development, thus assumed

the simple and straightforward elements of the Adams style. Utilitarian in nature, the buildings nevertheless retained an integrity through repetition of elements and uniformity of scale. The small scale of the buildings and expendible nature of low cost housing, however, coupled with the indepedence of the neighboring uses from the railroads, were to serve as significant factors in the redevelopment of the area in the late nineteenth century.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3, PART 1

1 A.P Langtry ed., Metropolitan Boston, A Modern History, 1925, III, 1059.

2 *Ibid.*, 1060.

3 *Ibid.*, 1060.

4 The committe included Dr. Phelps, George W. Adams -- the son of President John Quincy Adams -- and Emory Washburn of Worcester. (*Ibid.*, 1060.)

5 *Ibid.*, 1060.

6 *Ibid.*, 1061.

7 *Ibid.*, 1061.

8 E.M. Bacon, The Book of Boston: Fifty Years Recollections of the New England Metropolis, Boston, 1916, 101.

9 Langtry, Metropolitan, 1062.

10 The Boston and Lowell Railroad was chartered on June 5,1830, with a forty year franchise; the stock was taken in large blocks by men interested in Lowell manufacturing. On June 22,1831, the Boston and Providence Railroad was chartered. Although the last to be chartered (June 23, 1831), the Boston and Worcester Railroad was the first to actually operated (April 14,1834 to Newton). (Ibid., 1062.)

The Boston and Worcester stock was taken of men desirous of promoting a western line. In 1832, a satisfactory report was made to the subscribers as to surveys and estimates, and the stock in the railroad was made absolute. (Bacon, Book of Boston, 104)

11 Langtry, Metropolitan, 1064.

12 *Ibid.*, 1064.

13 Whitehill, Topographical History, 105.

14 Ibid., 012.

15 Langtry, Metropolitan, 1068.

16 Whitehill, Topographical History, 105.

17 Langtry, Metropolitan, 1064.

18 Ibid., 1065.

19 The delay caused by the "educational stage" regarding railroading in Massachusetts is illustrated by the development of railroad systems in other states. In 1830, Baltimore opened a line, in 1831 a rail connection was made between Albany and Schenectady, and by 1834 Philadelphia had established a line as far as the Susquehanna. Although these lines were very short and depended on water routes, they were developed well enough ahead of Boston's system to establish favorable trade agreements .
(R.N. Current, American History, New York, 1961, 282.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3, PART 2

1 N.B. Shurtleff, _A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston_, Boston, 1872, 125.

The Act of Incorporation of the South Cove Corporation states, "That said corporation shall have power to purchase, hold and possess any part or all the land, wharves and flats, with the buildings and other improvements thereon standing, lying easterly of Front street, southerly of Essex street, and westerly of Sea street, in the city of Boston."
(_Act of Incorporation_, in the _Report of the Board of Directors of the South Cove Corporation to the stockholders submitting the First Annual Report_, Boston, 1834, 19.)

2 _Act of Incorporation_, 20, 21.

3 _Ibid._, 22.

4 _Ibid._, 21.

5 _Ibid._, 21.

6 _Ibid._, 21, 22.

7 _First Report_, 5, 6. The report states that 100,000. square feet, bordering 150. feet opposite the Free Bridge, and 30,000. square feet on the corner of Beach, Lincoln and Albany Streets for a passenger depot were sold to the Boston and Worcester Railroad. The $65,000. value of the property was to be included as part of the $75,000. bonus paid to the railroad.

8 _Sixth Report_, 1839, 9. Although the capital with which the Corporation commenced amounted to $400,000., the total projected cost was one million dollars.

9 _First Report_, 11.

10 _Ibid._, 12.

11 _Ibid._, 13.

[12] *Ibid*., 14.

[13] *Ibid*., 15.

[14] *Second Report*, 1835, 6, 7.

[15] *Ibid*., 6. At this time the tracks had crossed Washington Street, and the continuation of tracks to the passenger and merchandize depots was expected to be completed the following summer.

[16] *Ibid*., 7.

[17] "the corporation now own all the estates and water rights that are necessary to the successful developement of their enterprise; having purchased all from Lovering's Wharf, near Castle Street, to Haskins Wharf, near South Street, inclusive, -- containing about 2,440,000 square feet -- equal to 56 acres."
(*Ibid*., 6.)

[18] *Third Report*, 1836, 5.

[19] *Fourth Report*, 1837, 7.

[20] *Ibid*., 10.

[21] *Third Report*, 3.

[22] *Fourth Report*, 11.

[23] The panic of 1837 was created by an increase in American specie, which caused prices to rise in the United States. "The inflation had to end, and even be replaced by deflation, if the British stopped exporting capital to the United States. The Bank of England though it was losing specie to the United States in late 1836 and acted to restrain the capital flow. This produced a commercial crisis in the United States, but the breaking point did not come until the price of cotton fell in early 1837. As this important price fell, the credit structure built with cotton as security collapsed. Banks in the United States refused to preserve the convertibility of their notes and deposits into specie and thus into foreign exchange at a fixed rate; the United States effectively devalued for a short time." (P. Temin, *The Jacksonian Economy*, New York, 1969, 174.)

The effect of the 1837 panic upon the South Cove development was a decrease in the amount of capital available to finance the project, for previously English capital had flowed into large projects such as the South Cove and into canal and railroad development in the U.S. The panic affected the railroads, upon which the success of the South Cove hinged, in a similar way. The Panic also created financial conservatism in Boston, thus limiting the capital potential investors were willing to place in such a speculative and high-risk project. The linking of the South Cove with land speculation in the West, which was completely different in nature, no doubt hindered the ability to raise capital.

The deflation produced as a result of the Panic served to decrease the value of the South Cove's assets, primarily the land created, and thus placed the development in a poor financial position for some time after the original Panic.

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24 *Fifth Report*, 1838,12.

25 *Fourth Report*, 12, 13.

26 *Fifth Report*, 7.

27 *Seventh Report*, 1840, 9.

28 *Sixth Report*, 1839, 11.

29 *Ibid.*, 11, 12.

30 *Seventh Report*, 12.

31 *Eighth Report*, 1841, 6, 7.

32 *Ibid.*, 11.

33 *Ibid.*, 13.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3, PART 3

1 Whitehill, _Topographical History_, 117, photograph of Fort Hill dwellings.

2 Damrell, _Half Century_, 50.

3 _Boston Illustrated_, 100.

4 Bacon, _Book of Boston_, 104.

5 Damrell, _Half Century_, 50.

6 _Ibid._, 51.

7 Whitehill, _Topographical History_, 102.

8 Damrell, _Half Century_, 48.

9 _Ibid._, 48.

10 _Ibid._, 48.

11 _Ibid._, 48.

Chapter 4

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BUILDING REGULATIONS IN BOSTON

The Great Fire of 1872, which destroyed the entire business district of Boston, indirectly altered the urban form and economic base of the Leather District, for devastion created by the fire resulted in an era of redelopment and expansion of Boston's commercial core.[1] Since most of the wholesale trade in Boston lay within the district destroyed -- hides, leather, shoes, wool, hardware, paper, donestic and foreign dry goods, earthenware, and a portion of ready made clothing [2] -- rapid redevelopment of the area was necessary in order to maintain this important form of economic activity in the city. Severely affected were the leather and shoe industries -- 185 such firms were destroyed on Pearl Street alone[3] -- which were two of the industries to relocate outside the limits of the commercial core and into the present Leather District.

Aside from the destruction of the center of the leather and other wholesale industries, the fire also prompted the state legislature to pass an act to provide more stringent city building laws designed to prevent the re-erection of hazardous classes of structures.[4] Although Boston had established a department for the inspection and authorization of

buildings in 1871, the building standards prior to the fire were minimal. As shown in the Acts of 1873, the 1872 fire served as an impetus in the creation of higher standards and stronger enforcement of construction requirements in Boston. The new laws regulated "every phase of building from the driving of the pile foundation to the construction of heating ducts and roofs,"[5] according to Bunting. Restrictions pertaining to commercial structures affected both individual structures and urban space, for the code required that party walls be carried above the level of the roof, that exteriors -- 45 or more feet above street level -- be made of or covered by a non-combustible material, that bay windows above the second story not be constructed of wood, that wood joists be carried a maximum of 25 feet in buildings wider than 30 feet, and that intermediate bearing walls be constructed. These laws also limited the height of buildings, except for church spires, to not greater than two and one half times the width of the widest street, not to exceed 125 feet.[6]

The consequence of the more stringent building laws was to greatly restrict commercial architecture in Boston. Freestone and marble were therefore used in the construction of store fronts as the use of the previously popular iron front was limited.[7] Level

rooflines were restricted by the party wall law, as were large open interior spaces by the joist and partition wall laws. Most important, however, the skyline of Boston was limited to 80 - 100 feet. This limitation, coupled with the load-bearing partition wall requirement, in effect outlawed the use of newer structural techniques of the period, the steel frame skyscaper. Thus, as a result of the fire, Boston was no longer able to keep abreast of newer styles and technologies in building and concepts of land use planning. Consequently, Boston was forced to develop new areas for commercial use, rather than create higher densities in existing commercial areas. The restriction placed upon vertical expansion would thus greatly affect the architecture and land use in downtown Boston, and of the Leather District in particular, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

* * * *

The causes of the spread of the fire, as realized by Boston city officials and architects, warrants consideration, for the attitudes towards

architecture after the fire resulted in a conservatism that greatly influenced the urban form of Boston well into the twentieth century. Architects, in their use of iron structure, were seen by both city officials and the professions themselves as the chief culprits, with real estate developers placing a close second. John Damrell, head of the Fire Department at the time of the fire and later chief of the Department of the Inspection of Buildings, states, "Iron girders, supported by iron columns, brick arches covered with concrete, with iron truss roof, shall not be accepted as fire-proof construction. ... In building construction in cities, as now practiced, the architect gives too much attention ato external effects, and to the convenience for business in internal construction, and therefore has to adjust his design and construction as near as possible to the law of mechanics on this line."[8] Architects too promoted the chastisement of their profession: "It is high time that a line be sharply drawn, beyond which the convenience of trade shall not jeopardize the lives and property of one's neighbors; and that the essentials of construction shall be controlled by experts under the law. The experts' skill and art should be employed strictly within the limits of safety. If we wish the mechanic to supplant us on the one hand and

the pictorial artist on the other, there is no surer way to such a result than neglect of our opportunities to lead in the art of building and to prove that usefulness and beauty can exist in perfect harmony in the same structure; and that all reasonable business requirements can be satisfied without the sacrifice of one to the other."[9] Safety and aesthetics, thought many architects of the period, were contradictory goals. Yet the catastrophic nature of the Boston fire led local architects to emphasize the elimination of potential structural hazards rather than to side with the strong feelings of professionals toward style and ornament, as one English critic states, "the provision against danger from fire cannot be allowed to override too much the immediate objects of architectural effect or practical convenience for working."[10] The opposition of real estate investors toward the restrictions that a safety code would impose upon the functional aspects of their buildings and land was also viewed by Boston architects as unfounded: "Your representatives were constantly met by the assertion that such restrictions would discourage investment and injure all real estate interests. It will be generally admitted that such has not been the case. Mill construction has steadily grown in

favor, but it is somewhat difficult of adaptation by complicated structures, and is chiefly useful in buildings attacked by fire from within."[11] The safety measures promoted by Boston architects were adopted by the City,[12] and thus the architects themselves created a building code which was to limit the use of architectural innovations developed in the late nineteenth century. In protecting their profession from further blame in any architecture-related catastrophies, the Boston architects took a conservative stance on commercial architecture, and consequently severely limited the development of their work.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1 The fire broke out on the corner of Kingston and Summer Streets, just north of the Leather District, and burned the area to Broad and Milk Streets. Sixty acres were destroyed, containing 600 buildings, 500 separate estates, and 1000 business firms. Economic losses were severe -- $24,365,000. in land value, $13,745,000 in assessed building value, $38,454,000. in assessed property value, and $10,000,000. in estimated non-assessed property value -- a total of $60 million.
(C.S. Damrell, *A Half Century of Boston's Building*, Boston, 1895, 134.)

2 E.M. Bacon, *The Book of Boston: Fifty Years Recollections of the New England Metropolis*, Boston, 1916, 67.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Bunting, *Back Bay*, 250.

5 *Ibid.*, 476.

6 Damrell, *Half Century*, 178. Damrell also states that the width of the street was defined as the distance between the face of the building and the line of the street opposite the building.

7 *Boston Illustrated*, Boston, 1878, 82.

8 Damrell, *Half Century*, 148.

9 J.A. Fox, "Some Lessons of the Fire", *American Architect and Building News*, Boston, XXVI, 729, 280.

10 *Ibid.*, 281.

11 *Ibid.*, 281, 282.

12 The proposal set forth by Fox includes the limitation of building height by street width, the restriction of floor -areas of business buildings,

Chapter 5

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEATHER DISTRICT: 1880 - 1925

Since railroads had come late to Boston due to regional indifference and skepticism, "Boston, in fact, lost its railroad lead in 1826, ... and was not destined to regain it," writes Charles Adams.[1] Thus, the Boston railroads did not prove to be as successful as the South Cove developers had originally envisioned, for Boston energy and capital went into the development of a system with Chicago and New York as the national centers. The relatively late development of railroads in Massachusetts created a competitive disadvantage for Boston-based lines, especially since the New York lines, although established only a few years before the Boston lines, had gained a monopoly over western shipping by agreements that lower rates would be charged to the New York lines. Boston therefore remained in last place as a center of railroad freight shipping. Aside from national status, Massachusetts railroads had local problems, for their development was unrestricted by the state. Numerous lines had been established by the Civil War, often with parallel tracks. This factor served to increase competition amon various lines, driving down rates and limiting the economic benefits of cooperative systems. Due to the lack of a unified

state system, railroad companies became too concerned with local competition to compete nationally, in effect, limiting the amount of profits and expansion of each of the lines.

From the end of the Civil War until 1870, an economic showdown occurred in Boston. This situation halted further railroad development in Boston, while New York, economically untouched by recession, expanded its railroad system.[2] The economic decline of Boston, coupled with the thirty year feud over rates between the Western and Boston and Worcester Railroads, precluded the development of a competitive freight service to upper New York State and farther west.[3] In 1869, however, the situation reversed. The Western and Boston and Worcester lines consolidated as the Boston and Albany Railroad. By doing so the new line was able to gain control of the Grand Junction Road, which linked the South Cove terminus to the Boston docks. Arrangements were thus made with western railroad lines to ship materials between the West and Europe by way of Boston --at rates comparable to New York rates. This agreement revived both ocean and railroad shipping in Boston.[4]

A 'period of consolidation' for Boston's rail roads finally occurred in the 1870's, producing a

limiting of competition and thus lowering the rates. The New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad was formed in 1873, intensifying railroad development in New England, as it rebuilt and consolidated parts of Massachusetts' system.[5] In 1888 the Old Colony Line was absorbed by the Boston and Providence Railroad, then the second largest in New England. In the 1890's, the Boston and Providence was in turn absorbed by the New York, New Haven and Hartford.[6] Although the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad thrived during the latter part of the nineteenth century, for it carried the greatest concentration of passenger traffic in the country and a great volume of freight,[7] its emergence as the dominant line in the Northeast only promoted the subservience of Boston's railroads to the New York system. Westward freight was once again channaled through New York and carried through Boston only for region use. Consequently, Boston again became a regional, rather than a national, center for railroad shipping. The regional nature of the industry in turn limited its growth and shifted the commercial nature of the Leather District, adjacent to the terminals and yards, away from railroad interests.

The New York, New Haven and Hartford continued to expand, however. In 1909 the line acquired the

the Boston and Maine Railroad, which also operated the Fitchburg Railroad, and so the New York, New Haven and Hartford gained a transportation monopoly of the Northeast.[8] The consolidation, though, was soon ordered split by the government, and as a result the railroad declined drastically in class and bulk of freight shipped.[9] The absorbtion of the Boston and Albany by the New York Central during this period reduced the amount of freight that the Boston line had formerly carried.[10] And so, despite the recovery of the railroads in the 1870's, the Boston systems never did achieve true national status. This is shown in Current's description of the major roads in the 1890's, in which no Boston lines are listed.[11]

The Leather District, although adjacent to the railroad depots and yards from the 1830's, never was influenced to any large degree by the railroads in terms of use, except for a brief period in the 1870's when saloons, restaurants and other such related activities proliferated in the area of the United States Hotel and Boston and Worcester Station.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER 5, PART 1

1 A.P. Langtry ed., _Metropolitan Boston, A Modern History_, Boston, 1929, III, 1063.

2 E.M. Bacon, _The Book of Boston: Fifty Years Recollections of the New England Metropolis_, Boston, 1916, 62.

3 Langtry, _Metropolitan Boston_, 1065.

4 _Ibid._, 1065.

5 _Ibid._, 1076.

6 _Ibid._, 1072

7 _Ibid._, 1076.

8 _Ibid._, 1074.

9 _Ibid._, 1076.

10 _Ibid._, 1075.

11 R.N. Current et. al., _American History_, New York, 1961, 497. Current here writes that the major Eastern railroads were the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, the Erie, and the Baltimore and Ohio, all of which had established connections with the Western market in Chicago.

The leather industry, long a major economic force in Boston, was not originally based in the present day Leather District. The tanneries of the 1760's and 1770's were located near Boyleston and Kneeland Streets (west of the South Cove) and in the Milk-Pearl-Congress Streets area (north of the Cove).[1] By the 1830's the shoe and leather businesses had achieved such proportions that they were known, as Bacon writes, as the "greatest industry of New England with Boston as its center."[2] As the industry continued to expand, it shifted its location and began to concentrate near the waterfront on Broad and Chatham Streets and the North and South Markets.[3] During the early part of the nineteenth century the character of the Boston-based activityalso changed, from manufacturing, which was to be carried on in the North and South Shores, to the wholesale and retail of finish goods.[4] During the 1840's and 1850's the shoe dealers moved again -- away from the Quincy Markets to Federal Street (to the south) and the North End (to the north).[5] Business during the Civil War increased as Boston became the source of shoe, boot, and leather supplies to leading distributing cities in the country and to

the Union Army. The industry subsequently moved to Pearl Street, driving out the dry goods trade, and expanded onto High Street.[6] The Fire of 1872 destroyed the physical center of the industry, which then moved to the south around Church Green, at the junction of Bedford and Summer Streets, and around the northern ends of Lincoln and South Streets.[7] The fire, although it did destroy a large amount of leather related property, did not seriously injure the trade itself.[8]

By 1894 the production of leather, boots and shoes in Boston declined due to a number of factors. Firstly, the manufacturers had difficulties in obtaining bark.[9] In addition, by the end of the nineteenth century, Boston had ceased to be a major terminal for the shipping of goods, if it ever really was one. Lastly, but perhaps most important, Boston declined as a market place for shoes, as cities throughout the country began to produce common and fine shoes and boots.[10] Thus, as business declined in the last years of the nineteenth century, the leather industry contracted physically, containing itself in the southern parts of Lincoln and South Streets, in the present "Leather District".

* * * *

By the middle of the nineteenth century the United States was rapidly industrializing manufacturing processes, thereby radically altering the scale and output of manufacturing and mercantile concerns. The effect of industrialization upon architecture, especially upon urban buildings, was significant, for the buildings designed to house mass production and merchandizing were of necessity taller and larger than had been previously found in such close urban quarters. The requirements of industrialization created much activity in structural inventions and changes in land use patterns, thereby altering the design and form of individual buildings and the way in which these buildings related to each other and to the city as a whole.

The numerous structural inventions of the period promoted the transformation of urban architecture, as architects began to employ structure and use as major parts of the design, rather than concealing these elements behind ornamentation. Prior to the American Industrial Revolution, structural techniques had generally remained compatible with whatever aesthetic standards were popular at the time, usually derived from historical sources.

Writes Fitch, "Neither the building materials (stone, brick, wood) nor the structural theories (post-and-lintel, load-bearing wall, arch-and-dome) differed in any important respect from those actually used by the Greeks and Romans."[1] Pre-industrialization architects were therefore free to emphasize design elements, without having to deal with the effects of structure and use upon design. The new manufacturing processes and the resulting structural techniques, primarily the use of metals in framing, encouraged architects to depart from traditional concepts of design and to relate use and form to the new advances. "The main lines of evolution included both theoretical and practical developments: increasingly exact determination of the properties of materials and the stresses in members, followed by a general lightening of columns and beams and hence by greater openness of interior; a constant expansion of the absolute size of members to carry ever-increasing loads; the invention of special forms of bracing against wind loads; and the growth of methods for framing wide-span enclosures," writes Conlin.[2] The industrial spacial requirements demanding larger and open floor areas, coupled with the limited amount of urban land, forced architects to employ new construction techniques.

The major structural innovation in the Industrial Age, the use of iron in the construction of buildings, was advanced by a need for fireproofing, and demands for more light and openness of wall construction. During the late eighteenth century, iron had been used successfully for interior columns and beams in multi-story English mills and warehouses.[3] As the iron industry in the United States progressed, the English precedent began to take hold in America. Boston became one of the first cities in the East to employ iron in construction, in the Bond Building in Merchants Row (c. 1830).[4] The major activity in iron construction was, however, centered in New York City. In 1847 Daniel Badger, who had begun as a manufacturer of iron building fronts in Boston, founded the American Iron Works in lower Manhattan. From 1850 until 1870 the Badger works flourished, producing iron fronts and interiors for buildings throughout the East and Midwest, as well as New York. Although the ornamental design of Badger's iron fronts were not innovative, being basically imitative of Venetian Rennaissance forms, the structural form proved adaptable to changing urban requirements, and more significant, could be massed produced as the structural requirements did not change radically from building to building.[5]

James Bogardus, a contemporary of Badger, also established a machine shop in New York. Although Badger popularized the use of iron in construction, the Bogardus projects influenced modern structural techniques to a greater degree. Bogardus' method of pre-cast iron columns used with wooden beams enabled quick and low cost construction. The design elements, as in Badger's work, were imitative for one of Bogardus' main objectives was "to find a low-cost method of imitating the architecture of past ages."[6] As a result of emphasis placed upon classical ornamentation, Bogardus' cast iron fronts did not fully relate to the structural system, except in elevations where spandrel girders were cast as entabletures. Although the potentials of iron structure were realized by Badger and Bogardus in terms of functional arrangement of interior spaces, the technique contributed greatly to urban form. The success of the anti-monumental, utilitarian, and inexpensive characteristics of cast iron buildings created a model for commercial architecture, as well as laying a foundation for the more advanced use of metals in construction.

The high point of the Bogardus structural system occurred in Chicago, in William Le Baron Jenny's First Leiter Building (1879),[7] in which cast iron col-

umns were placed inside brick piers with timber beams and joists serving as horizontal support. The Leiter Building, however, was only the beginning of frame construction for Jenney, for in 1884 he designed the Home Insurance Building, also in Chicago, in which iron framing was used throughout the entire building. Although part of the load was transferred to the brick party walls, as demanded by the Insurance Underwriter, the Home Insurance Building was actually the first building in the United States to employ sketetal construction throughout, for the iron frame carried the whole load of the building. This building was also the first to use steel beams instead of wrought iron, for steel was substituted at the last moment above the sixth floor. The high cost of steel, however, prohibited the popular use of the material in construction until the beginning of the twentieth century.[8]

The movement toward complete sketetal framing, inspired by the Home Insurance Building, took place largely in Chicago between 1880 and 1910; this period is popularly known today as the Chicago School. Despite Jenney's precedent, however, Chicago architects continued to explore combinations of iron and masonry construction for four years after the completion of the Home Insurance Building, before turning to

complete sketetal construction. Such hybrids include Burnham and Root's "The Rookery" (1884-1886),[9] notable for the glass and iron vault over the interior court, and Adler and Sullivan's "Auditorium" (1887-1889)[10] and Tacoma (1888-1889)[11] Buildings. Iron and steel framing without any masonry adjuncts was finally achieved in 1889, in Bauman and Huehl's Chamber of Commerce Building.[12] By 1890, Chicago architects had mastered the skeletal frame and were beginning to explore its potential in terms of total design. The elimination of masonry walls as a means of support enabled the builders to incorporate large expanses of glass into the facades, which were later projected by special framing. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, Chicago architects were respected in the East and abroad as the most innovative and progressive in the design of commercial buildings. Writes an editorial in Carpentry and Building, a New York publication:

> The character of the structures erected [in Chicago] demonstrates one notable fact -- that is, that for the first time architects have risen to the plane of the highest constructive knowledge in structures. ... It is a fact that in Chicago buildings the quality is better, the distribution of material is more skillful and the buildings are naturally more reliable.[13]

* * * *

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Although the structural events in Chicago during the latter part of the nineteenth century affected the type of buildings constructed in the Leather District, the design and form the District architecture was to assume were most influenced by the work of H.H. Richardson, Louis Sullivan and the tradition of mill construction in New England. The mill style, especially, was to remain a characteristic of the Leather District, based upon, as Coolidge writes, "the strong functional tradition of /‾American_/ industrial architecture."[14] The flat surfaces unadorned by ornament or projecting elements found its roots in the Georgian style, when the building expertise of craftsmen was limited. The simplicity of elements and materials continued in Boston, as shown in the Leather District, well into the 1890's, as Giedion explains, "The brick wall, to be cheap, must be kept flat and simple. All openings are cut mery cleanly into the flat surface of the wall."[15] The dominant mill style and structure was most probably used in the District because of developers' cost conservatism and architects' stylistic conservatism. The effect, however, when combined with elements borrowed from Richardson and Sullivan, was a style unmentioned in studies of nineteenth century commercial archi-

tecture.

Richardson's influence in the Leather District buildings is most strongly felt in ornamentation and in a few elements of grouping. Aside from local prominence in architecture, Richardson was, as Lewis Mumford describes, "a user of regional resources and as an interpreter of regional characteristics."[16] Richardson employed regional materials, such as Milford granite, brown sandstone and Longmeadow stone,[17] giving them a form which complemented Puritan austerity while counteracting the social vulgarism of the Industrial Age. Although Richardson did not participate in the structural evolution of the skyscraper, his effect upon his contemporaries in the design of a relationship between interior spaces and facade expression was significant. The massiveness and simplicity of form of Richardson's work were achieved by the use of rock faced masonry and by the emphasis placed upon structural elements through the use of different materials in these elements. The whole was unified in the commercial buildings by ribbon windows separated by masonry bands, and grouped vertically by arched openings, supported by colonettes, forming arcades of several stories. The depth of the windows introduced an expression of solids and voids, reinforcing a feeling

of massiveness without detracting from the continuity of forms. Richardson thus developed the vocabulary of Romanesque elements into a style uniquely American -- continuity of space combined with massiveness, permanence and functional expression. The influence of Richardson's architectural concepts was most strongly felt after his death in 1886, as seen in the grouping of elements and sense of weight in Burnham and Root's "The Rookery" (1886) and Louis Sullivan's work between 1880 and 1890. Richardson's influence was significant in this period, for as Scully writes, "/ Richardson / summed up the main conflicting aspects of modern, and peculiarly American, middle-class aspiration: to be free and protected all at once."[18]

Sullivan, like Richardson, was more of an influence in the form of late nineteenth century commercial buildings than in the development of new structural systems. Sullivan, however, did not introduce a truly new style, for he was, as Whiffen states, "a classicist under the skin"[19] and was not afraid to admit imitation. The elements most used by Sullivan -- multi-story columns with base, shaft, and capital, and friezes -- were classical in form, yet used in such a way as to emphasize the structural

elements of the building. Sullivan's early work such as the Walker Warehouse (1888-1889) was influenced by Richardson as well as by classical elements. Yet, there is a hint of greater simplification and clearer cut forms, and a lesser emphasis on the expression of interior volumes than in Richardson's work. By the time of the Wainwright Building (1890-1891), Sullivan was combining Richardson's feeling for permanence and order with an expression of the structural system employed, for the ordering was formulated by the vertical columns supporting arches and divided by horizontal spandrals. The whole, however, was more taut than Richardson's work, and the weightless quality of the spandrals provided a vertical force built of horizontal layers which was unlike Richardson's dominant horizontal ordering. The emphsis placed upon vertical ordering of elements reached its culmination in Sullivan's Guaranty Building (Buffalo, 1894-1895), for later Sullivan turned to horizontal emphasis as allowed by the use of large plate-glass windows. The Carson-Pirie Scott Department Store (1899-1904) of this later period also marked the decline of Richardson's influence in Sullivan's work. In addition, decorative ornament became more Art Nouveau than Romanesque, although the ornamentation was more organic than the Art Nouveau style.

Ironically, it was the return to horizontal emphsis that led to the decline of the massive and void vs. space qualities of Richardson's work in Sullivan's later buildings. The steel frame permitted an openness not allowed to such an extent in load-bearing wall construction, and Sullivan began to exploit this possibility together with an even more taut surface at the turn of the century. It was thus the void -- the large expanse of glass -- that was emphasized in Sullivan's work, ordered only by the structural framing of the building. Sullivan at this time also differentiated the ground floor of the building to an even greater degree, in his drive toward humanistic qualities and scale in large buildings. In placing more ornament and large windows in the ground floors, Sullivan began a trend toward designing street level facades that were more in scale with ground level activities, yet integrated into the whole form of the building. Thus Sullivan developed Richardson's concepts of ordering and massiveness in commercial buildings into a form more indicative of skeletal frame construction as he simplified the elements so as to limit the overpowering nature of high-rise buildings.

The buildings constructed in the Leather District between 1880 and 1890 indicate a hybridization of the mill style and Richardsonian elements and materials. The degree to which each element dominates the whole varies greatly within the decade as does the degree of integration achieved. The Leather District buildings thus differ from more prominent structures of the era in that they do not embrace Richardson's concepts of ordering and form, but rather employ a conservative approach in the application of application of the more contemporary concepts. The structural elements of these buildings, however, is more typical of commercial architecture of the period, in the use of iron columns and wood beams and joists, and in the negligible indication of structural elements in the total design.

The Morse Block, 58-74 South Street, was the first commercial building constructed in the district during the late nineteenth century. Designed by Louis Weissbein in 1880,[1] this group of buildings is actually more stylistically representative of work done by Gridley J.F. Bryant on the Boston Waterfront in the 1830's than of commercial architecture of its time. Although the building is constructed of brick,

granite sheathes the facade, concealing the iron and wood frame structure, and achieving a textural quality lacking in the brick commercial buildings of the mill style. The elements of the Morse Block, however, are grouped in a simple manner, with small evenly spaced windows framed with granite lintels. The whole is massive, but more as result of the textural quality of the stone rather than by the grouping of forms and projecting elements. Although harmonious in scale and form, the building is more of a reproduction than an attempt to deal with the industrial forms evolved in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The buildings constructed on South Street between East and Beach Streets are more representative of the architecture in the Leather District during the 1880 - 1890 period. Built of warm red brick, with an occasional use of differents materials for ornamentation, these buildings attempt to achieve the massing of forms that Richardson pioneered. As the decade progresses, the windows strive toward continuous bands, grouped verically under projecting arches and columns. Some depth is achieved through the projecting elements and ornamentation, providing the whole, although to a limited extent, with an interplay of space and void. Despite the efforts

made to employ Richardsonian detail and massing, the mill style dominates the architecture, perhaps because of its simpler vocabulary and more readily comprehended forms.

The east side of the South Street block is the more unified, perhaps since there are only four buildings and there is little attempt made to employ Richardsonian elements. The street facade also displays the transition from mill type style of simplifed and flat surfaces to the more complex and textured Romanesque forms, and exibits the conservative use of Richardsonian forms by local architects. 90-100 South, built in 1883 and designed by A.S. Drisko for mercantile use[2], has such a flat facade, for the brick and stone lintels above the windows do not project, nor do the stone bands used to define the floors. Although the grouping of windows in this building is straightforward mill type, without depth, horizontal or vertical ordering, or definition through texture or spacial ornamentation, the building does achieve some Richarsonian form. The cornice and a band between the fifth and sixth floors is designed with Romanesque elements and mass. Nevertheless, the cornice alone fails to give the guilding depth and grouping, and so the building remains basically of the mill type, with the cornice only disrupting the

simplicity and straightforwardness of the whole.

Louis Weissbein designed 114-122 South Street in 1883.[3] In this building Weissbein attempted to abandon Georgian form through the use of Romanesque detailing. Yet, 114-122 is much like 90-100 in the use of simple mill style with Romanesque cornice, and in effect does not achieve Richardson's massiveness of form. It is apparent in these two buildings that both Drisko and Weissbein did not fully understand the concepts of Richardson's work, for projections seen to be attached to the facade, rather than integrated into the whole form and mass of the structure.

102-112 South was designed by Alden Finn in 1884,[4] and is a hybrid of a different character. The large continuous windows, separated by narrow bands horizontally and by narrow spandrals vertically, is more typical of Bogardus' cast iron fronts, yet the individual elements are derived from the Georgian rather than from the Venetian style. Alden appears to have comprehended Bogardus' goals, for the building is light and simple, and quite different fromneighboring attempts to combine simplicity with massiveness without understanding the underlying concepts of either.

The last building to be built in this group was 76-86 South, designed by W.F. Goodwin in 1895.[5] This building, although constructed over ten years

after the major portion of the block, does not differ radically in form, despite national changes in style and construction in the interim. The structure is also iron post and wood beam construction, despite the firmly established use of sketetal frame construction in the country by 1895. Although the bays are grouped under arches, the projection is minimal. The Goodwin building thus appears to be of the same mode as the cther structures on this block -- basic mill type with popular elements tacked on. The whole is of 76-86 is not massive and continuous, or taut and classically ordered, but is a nonunified hybrid of commercial architecture of the whole nineteenth century.

Although the individual buildings in the block are neither distinctive nor individually composed of unified elements and forms, the total effect of the group is harmonious. The visual rooflines are level, for the cornices are carried above the actual flat roofs, eliminating the disruption of the projecting party-wall building law. The floors are also uniform, and coupled with the basically flat facades, provide continuity of form the entire block. Window size and space, except for 102-106, are standardized, reinforcing continuity. Although the ornamentation of the cornices and lintels

varies slightly, the Richardson and mill derivations provide a rhythmic flow, as do the standardized iron fronts on the street level. Despite the shortcomings of the individual buildings, the block does present a harmonious facade, through the use of materials and simplied ordering of forms.

The buildings on the west side of South Street between East and Beach Streets realize more completely the implications of Richardson's work. Designed for similar use (mercantile) and employing the same structural system (iron post/ wood beam), these buildings, however, achieve an entirely different effect than those just across the street. The simple mill style is here less dominant, and stronger attempts are made to integrate the solid and void, massiveness, and ordering of forms found in Richardson's work. Whether or not Richardson's influence is more apparent in these buildings because they were built after his death, when architects became more imitative of his work, or because of local conservatism and skepticism that delayed popular use of his concepts is uncertain. It is apparent, however, that these buildings were derived from his early work, such as the Cheney Building (1875-1876), rather than his mature style or buildings based upon Richardson's later work, such as The Rookery (Burn-

ham and Root, 1886) or Sullivan's early designs.

105 South was designed by Whidden and Chamberlain in 1886.[6] Although the building permit to neighboring 107 South does not indicate architect,[7] it was built in the same year as 105, and the two actually appear to be one building. It is possible, despite different owners of the two lots, that 107 was designed by Whidden and Chamberlain. The two buildings are differentiated on the facade by a projecting brick column, which also separates the bays on the East Street side of 105. The buildings are flat, with projecting brick arches over the windows of the fifth floor, which do not serve to group the windows vertically. The Romanesque cornice here is placed below the top floor, and the top floor is thus treated as a mansard roof -- smaller unornamented windows spaced farther apart than those below. The bottom two floors are also treated in the typical mercantile manner of large windows divided by narrow columns. The buildings are ordered in much the same way as The Rookery -- into three distinct vertical layers -- yet the whole does not achieve the massiveness and depth of forms implied in the Chicago building, for the middle section of the Boston building relies heavily on mill elements , which overpower the few attempts of Richardsonian

detailing and grouping.

The building at 121-123 South achieves perhaps the finest feeling for Richardson's grouping of forms.[8] A projecting arch, under which the second through fourth floors are grouped, achieve feeling for space and void lacking in most of the other buildings on the block. The windows are horizontal bands, broken only by the brick columns supporting the arch, thus allowing for some degree of horizontal continuity. Although the building is narrow, only 28 feet wide, the use of projecting ornamentation and grouping still gives a massive quality to the whole, for the single arch is in scale with the frontage so as not to appear to overpowering in form.

The "Beebee Building" at 127-131 South was designed by Rand and Taylor in 1888,[9] and owned by J. Franklin Faxon, a large developer in the Leather District. The third through fifth floors are of a simple mill type, yet the highly textured and differently colored stone used in the second floor provides the building with some mass while breaking up the continuity of the whole facade. Projecting brick columns are employed to separate the bays and add a limited amount of depth. The cornice, as in the other buildings on the west side of South Street, is placed below the top floor, and designed with

Richardsonian elements of texture and projection.

137-139 South breaks the continuity of the street facade,[10] for the roofline is lower and floors are different from the neighboring buildings. The building is unusual in the design of small windows on the right side, grouped as a bay under projecting arches. The left bay is more typical of mill design, and thus the whole is neither harmonious nor unified. The use of flat and projecting surfaces in different halves of the same building, without any attempt at integration of parts, disrupts continuity and flow of forms, especially when used in such a narrow structure.

The last building in this group is 143-157 South,[11] designed by J.H. Besarick for J.F. Faxon. This building is more typical of those on the opposite side of South Street, in the dominance of mill design. Nevertheless, Besarick did employ Richardsonian elements to a greater degree, primarily the grouping of bays under arches and the definition of bays by projecting brick columns. The bays, however, do not provide any real depth to the whole, and the building thus remains a non-integrated hybrid of mill and Richardsonian elements, without mass nor unifies interplay of texture and depth.

The buildings on the west side of South Street,

although more varied than those on the east side of the street, nevertheless do achieve a total quality missing in the individual members. The changing massing of elements and spacial qualities achieve a lively rhythm, harmonious in it disruption. The material used in these buildings -- a rusty brick -- unifies, to some degree, the whole street facade. These buildings, besides being one story taller, overpower the more conservative and unified facade of the east side of the street, for the massing of details and changing rhythms direct the eye toward a closer examination of the individual elements which comprise the whole.

No other portion of the Leather District is as distinctive, as a total unit, as the South Street block. The buildings facing Lincoln Street and Atlantic Avenue -- the only two streets upon which major buildings front in the District -- are either vandalized by modern renovations on the ground floors, or disrupted by twentieth century attempts at steel frame construction. The early twentieth century buildings, especially, disrupt these street facades as well as lower South Street, for these buildings are much taller (up to 11 stories), employ materials other than red brick, and are generally larger in coverage and different in scale than neighboring

nineteenth century buildings. In effect, the area surrounding upper South Street is neither as unified nor as well preserved, resulting in a discontinuity of form which precludes any district quality. In addition, both Lincoln Street and Atlantic Avenue are open on one side. The void produced by the Fitzgerald Expressway and railroad yards thus prevents a feeling of enclosed district, achieved more readily when both sides of a street display similarity of form and scale of development.

The buildings outside the South Street block warrant attention only for the determination of vernacular responses to the changing forms of commercial architecture. During the period of development of upper South Street, the structures built in the rest of the District were of similiar style and construction. 118-128 Lincoln Street is almost a replica of the Beebe Building on South Street,[12] in the way stone is used to accentuate the second floor and in the grouping of bays under arches, though the Lincoln Street building does not achieve the depth and unification of elements of the Beebe Building. 146-154 Lincoln Street, designed by Winslow and Wetherell in 1889,[13] is more Sullivanesque in the manner in which the bays are recessed under projecting brick columns. While the form of the

ordering shows Sullivan tendencies, nevertheless the building is actually more of a derivation of the mill type, for there is negligible use of ornament and the windows are grouped small openings within the bays, rather than individually ordered and recessed by projecting columns.

Of the many buildings built in the Leather District during the 1890's, two best typify Boston's architectural response to the architectural developments of the period, namly the skeletal frame and the skyscraper form. 705-713 Atlantic Avenue[14], built in 1892, is more a direct imitation of mill style, for the surface is kept flat,and bay and floor ordering is kept simplified and minimal. The structure of the building is also of mill type -- iron columns and wood beams. The Essex Hotel, 695 Atlantic Avenue,[15] is more an example of architect of the period than its imitative neighbor. Designed by A.H. Bowditch in 1899, the design and structure were influenced by the Chicago School. Eleven stories high, the red brick structure is one of two to be of complete steel frame construction in the Leather District prior to 1900. The form of the building, however, is an unusual hybrid of mill style and Sullivanesque elements. The ordering of the middl section is accomplished through the use of projecting columns

between pairs of windows, forming recessed bays. The vertical force, however, is lessened by projecting arches at the fifth floor. The whole of the facade is ordered by two projecting cloumns of white brick, which separate the middle recessed bays from the mill type forms of the end sections. The far ends of the building, flat and unadorned, tend to disrupt the vertical rhythm established in the middle bays. Nevertheless, horizontal flow does continue throughout the length of the building, for the spandrals are not recessed in the middle bays or ends. The ground floor, as in Sullivan's work, is differentiated both in material and in the use of larger windows. The significance of the Essex Hotel, however, is the dicotomy of forms. The mill and skyscaper elements do achieve some degree of integration, yet the rhythm of the whole, as realized in Sullivan's Guaranty Building, is lost. The disruption created by the mixture of mill elements, such as the flat white brick fans over the windows, and of the classical elements, such as the cornice and the highly ornamented balcony over the front door, is great. The Essex Hotel thus illustrates that by the late nineteenth century the mill, or Georgian, style had not died in Boston and was employed in the design of skyscrapers, in effect hiding the

the structural system that the Chicago School was attempting to emphasize.

The buildings built during the first fifteen years of the twentieth century in the Leather District indicate a continuation of the dichotomous response to national developments in commercial architecture. Although newer structural techniques were employed to a greater degree, the basic design remained Georgian. The buildings on the west side of lower South Street exemplify the architecture in the Leather District during this period. 179-193 South, designed by Fehmer and Page in 1900,[16] is more typical of late nineteenth buildings in the district, as iron post construction and mill design are employed. By 1915 however, skyscaper structural techniques were combined with a Georgian facade. 207 South, designed by Whidden-Beekman,[17] has a flat facade with wornamentation limited to a flat stone band between the floors and flat stone arches over the windows. The sole stylistic influence of the Chicago School is seen in the large windows set in continuous bands. 195-201 South, designed by Henri Desmond,[18] is similar in design to 207 South, although a stone pattern derived from Sullivan's organic decorative elements vertically separates the windows. 207 also employs concrete flat slab for structure, as opposed to the

steel frame used in 195 South.

*   *   *   *

The Leather District thus illustrates the conservative position taken by Boston architects during a period of rapid design and structural changes in commercial architecture. The dominance of the Georgian style during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the District buildings indicates a revival of the colonial style that precluded imitation of Chicago architectural elements. Certainly the fire and resulting building regulations limiting height and structure affected the degree to which Boston architects could employ skyscraper construction. The fact that Boston was not as limited in land area, for the creation of new land by fill was relatively easy on the marshy shoreline of the peninsula, also contributed to the lack of necessity to build tall structures. Nevertheless, the architecture of the Leather District indicates more the Bostonian philosophy during the Progressive Era than reactions to urban pressures. As one leading architectural periodical states:

"Boston is essentially a brick city and

> has been so from the beginning. Knowing the material , with its limitations and capabilities as well they do, Boston architects have neither attempted the impossible nor the difficult, but taking brick as it is, they have used it in its proper manner, and keeping it in its natural sphere have produced a type of architecture which, without being striking or sensational, will remain satisfactory and pleasing when labored pyrotechnical facades are exciting only ridicule."[19]

Just as Richardson had sought to counteract the vulgarisms of industrialization through the use of native materials and massive stabile forms, Boston architects used the simplicity of the Georgian style to counteract industrialism. Richardson, however, expressed the industrialized use in the form of his buildings, while Boston architects concealed the industrialized function of their buildings behind a colonial facade.

The local philosophy of the period governed economic activities as well as urban form. As the country prospered after the Civil War, Boston remained economically stagnant. The maintenance of the status quo was of such importance to Bostonians in business affairs that the pressure to expand commercial activities, in production as well as urban form, was negligible in the City during the late nineteenth century.[20]

In effect, Boston ignored the economic

pressures forced upon urban areas during the late nineteenth century. The City, in emphasizing its colonial roots, severely limited its economic and architectural potential. The architecture of the Leather District therefore illustrates not the economic factors in commercial development but rather the attitude that negated these factors. Moreover, the revival of Georgian architecture in commercial buildings in Boston demonstrates a rejection of the Industrial Age, and a subsequent absense of urban form typical of the period. Boston architecture, as shown in the Leather District, was affected thus to a greater extent by active opposition to urban expansion than by the economic forces prevalent during the late nineteenth century in the United States.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5, PART 2

1

F.W. Norcross, "The Hide and Leather Trade of Suffolk County," Professional and Industrial History of Suffolk County Massachusetts, Boston, 1894,III, 370.

2

E.M. Bacon, The Book of Boston: Fifty Years of Recollections of the New England Metropolis, Boston, 1916, 76.

3

Ibid., 76.

4

The first wholesale dealers in the city were located in the South Market around 1835 (Suffolk County History, p.310).
(F.W. Norcross, "The Wholesale Shoe Trade of Sufflok County Massachusetts," Professional and Industrial History of Suffolk County Massachusetts, Boston, 1894, III, 310.)

It is interesting to note that Nathan Tufts, the founder of Tufts College, was a large sole leather tanner during the first half of the nineteenth century. He made his fortune by selling for cash only - an uncommon practice in an industry which was based on credit (due to products being shipped long distances). Tufts College was thus financed in its infancy by the prosperity of the leather trade. (Bryant, p. 39.)
(S. Bryant, The Shoe and Leather Trade of the Last Hundred Years, Boston, 1891, 39.)

5

Norcross, "Shoe Trade," 314.

6

Bacon, Book of Boston, 76

7

Winsor, Memorial History, 99.

8

Bacon, Book of Boston, 76.

9

Commerce, Manufactures and Resources of Boston Massachusetts, Boston, 1883, 33.

10

Norcross, "Hide and Leather," 368.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5, PART 3

1 J. Fitch, *American Building and the Historical Forces that Shaped It*, Boston, 1966, 172.

2 C.W. Condit, *American Building Art: The Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1960, 39.

3 *Ibid.*, 27.

4 *Ibid.*, 28.

5 *Ibid.*, 30, 31. Condit here states:"The bulk of them were from two to six stories high, with individual stories varying in height from 9 to 14 feet; spandrel depth was about 2 feet; column spacing in the facade was generally 6 feet, though in a few cases it ran less than 5; hollow columns were seldom less than 12 inches in diameter. Interior framing generally consisted of iron columns and timber floor beams. Badger relied almost exclusively on Venetian Renaissance for the basis of form and ornament, since it provided the most suitable architectural expression for the basic functional pattern of columns, spandrels and windows. The facades presented a uniform appearance of narrow iron columns and spandrels framing the large windows that nearly filled each bay, a series of rectangles set in successive rows, one above the other. All joints were made by bolting one member to another through flanges."

6 *Ibid.*, 32.

7 *Ibid.*, 52.

8 *Ibid.*, 52, 54.

9 *Ibid.*, 55.

10 *Ibid.*, 56-58. The Auditorium, consisting of a theater surrounded by offices and a hotel, is notable for varied structural methods used to deal with the changes in shape and dimension

within the building. The hotel and offices employed traditional masonry piers with iron columns and beams, but the theater incorporated an innovative system of iron trusses and hangers carrying the vaulted and flat ceilings, and included a system of iron columns and beam framing which served as the major floor support.

11 Ibid., 58. The Tacoma Building is notable for the rivoting of all connections, a technique which provided greater rigidity than bolting.

12 Ibid., 58, 59.

13 Ibid., 63.

14 Coolidge, Mill and Mansion, 100.

15 Giedion, Space, Time, 290.

16 Mumford, Roots of Architecture, 127.

17 Ibid., 127.

18 V. Scully, American Architecture and Urbanism, New York, 1969, 103.

19 M. Whiffen, American Architecture Since 1780, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969, 192.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5, PART 4

1 Building Permit 172, 1880.

2 Building Permit 67, 1883.

3 Building Permit 16, 1883.

4 Building Permit 278, 1884. Building Permit 279, 1884.

5 Building Permit 395, 1885.

6 Building Permit 179, 1886.

7 Building Permit 2, 1886.

8 Building Permit 1, 1886.

9 Building Permit 241, 1888.

10 Building Permit not on file.

11 Building Permit 114, 1885.

12 Building Permit 3, 1888.

13 Building Permit 228, 1892.

14 Building Permit 123, 1892.

15 Building Permit (no number), 1899.

16 Building Permit 427, 1900.

17 Building Permit 121, 1915.

18 Building Permit 445, 1915.

19 "Boston Brickwork IV", *The Brickbuilder: An Architectural Monthly*, vol. 14, no. 88, 156.

20 Bunting, *Back Bay*, 15-17. Bunting here describes the change in economic growth in Boston after the Civil War, and ascribes it to the increasing conservative nature of the business leaders.

CHAPTER 6

The Role of Economic Factors in Boston Architecture

The historical development of the Leather District exemplifies the great extent to which economic factors influenced nineteenth century urban form and architecture, especially that of vernacular commercial buildings. The economic factors, however, were not created by the introduction of industrialization, for the principle of supply and demand, the ultimate determinant of development and production, is not confined to any particular era. Rather, it was the effect of industrialization upon supply and demand that altered urban form in the nineteenth century. More important to urban centers, however, was the effect of industrialization upon commercial activities. Since mercantile concerns demand location within the commercial core of the city, as the scale of these businesses increased during the nineteenth century, a higher demand was created for commercial space in the core. Thus, demand for commercial space increased while the supply of land remained almost constant. The form of the city was consequently converted to a more intensive use of the limited supply and a slight expansion of acceptable land for commercial use.

The Leather District displays the change in urban form occurring in Boston between 1640 and 1900. During the seventeenth century commercial activities in the city were limited to the Harbor area, which satisfied shipping needs and proved adequate in area for the amount and size of commercial businesses. As the South Cove was well outside the commercial district in this period, it remained residential in use. As the need for wharves increased during the latter part of the seventeenth century, however, the Harbor became more intensively developed and expanded southward to the South Cove. The South Cove, because of its rural character and the availability of large parcels, was thus used for an industrial purpose which could not afford to locate in the commercial center yet demanded water frontage -- the manufacture of rum. The South Cove was therefore established as an industrial district by 1800.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, another demand produced pressures upon the limited amount of land in the Boston peninsula -- the railroads. The location of railroad terminals required that they be near the center of the city and adjacent to water deep enough for large ships. As the commercial center of Boston had expanded as far south as Essex Street by the 1830's, the South Cove

was recognized by railroad developers as the prime location for terminals within the city. The area had already been established for industrial use, so that no major change in land use was required. The South Cove was thus filled in and developed for railroad use. Economic problems, however, hindered the development of the area, primarily the unprofitability of the railroads and the financial Panic of 1837. The South Cove was therefore not developed as the important industrial and commercial center that the developers had envisioned. Rather, the financial conditions of e the owners and of the period dictated low rent residential use, for the demand for inexpensive housing in the city was increasing due to the large number of immigrants entering Boston. The undesirability of the area for grander residences[1] and the low initial and maintenance costs of tenement housing forced this use upon the area. Although the similarity of development, small scale, and simple elements allowed for district form and some degree of quality through compact harmonic forms, the fact remained that the area had acquired an unrespectible image as a result of the financial failures of the initial development.

The business boom which occurred in Boston prior to the Civil War did not affect the form of the Leather District greatly. Although Boston was at that time a

a serious contender as the center of economic activity in the country, commercial activities remained north of the District. Iron construction allowed for larger buildings and more intensive land use, so that an increase in land suitable for commercial use was not demanded. Thus, the Leather District remained outside the commercial core and was limited to residential and minor commercial uses.

The period after the Civil War produced a growing complacency and conservatism in Boston. The city did grow as the country prospered, yet not proportionately. Industrialism created not a driving need to expand and produce, as in New York and Chicago, but rather a critical attitude of the present and a cultivation of the past which precluded growth. These attitudes, coupled with the attitudes toward building created by the Fire of 1872 resulted in the use of traditional and proven design and structural techniques in commercial architecture. Consequently Boston was not affected by an great increase in demand for land, and the City thus maintained the character it had achieved earlier in the nineteenth century.

There was some increase in demand for land, however, since the Leather District was redeveloped

for commercial use in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, this excess demand was stabilized by an increase in the supply of potential commercial areas, as new residential areas, such as the Back Bay and the suburbs, were created. As the Leather District was adjacent to the commercial core, and since the decline of railroads produced a reduced demand for railroad-related land, the District was redeveloped for commercial use. The expendible nature of tenements, certainly, contributed to the feasibility of redevelopment, as did the general increased rent and thus profit on commercial buildings.

It is not determinable as to the exact reasons for the leather industry to locate in this new commercial area. The more prestigeous and larger firms remained in the commercial core on High and Pearl Streets. Perhaps the general decline of the business forced a south ward movement away from the more valuable space it had once occupied. Or perhaps the larger numbers of smaller firms demanded the smaller spaces which were created by the size of the original parcels in the District. A closer analysis of the firms locating in the District as it was developed would be necessary for a more concrete explanation as to the reasons for this particular industry to move to smaller and less centrally located quarters.

The change in urban form as a result of the commercial redevelopment was significant. The larger scale of the buildings eliminated the use of alleys as traffic carriers in addition to creating more cavernous streets. As the relationship of street width to buildings height increased, the vertical force of the street facades increased. The narrow frontage of the parcels on the streets also contributed to the vertical force. Although there was some uniformity of scale and elements, especially in areas developed at the same time, the general high mixture of elements and forms produced a loss of harmony that had been achieved in the residential development of the 1840's.

* * * *

Thus, as Boston was not seriously affected by changes in supply and demand of land during the late nineteenth century, the form of the city was not changed to any great degree. Rather, the earlier character of commercial areas spread, encompassing previously residential areas. The supply and demand of land maintained equilibrium, and so the City did not progress architecturally as did Chicago and New

York. The Leather District is therefore not an example of the degree to which economic forces influenced architecture in the nineteenth century, but rather the extent to which a conservative reaction to economic growth affectedarchitecture and urban form. The Leather District portrays a local reaction to industrialization rather than indicating vernacular responses to novel building design and structure of the nineteenth century. Although the buildings in the District achieve no great quality individually, it may be that they may warrant preservation as an example of Boston's response to the Progressive Era. The conservatism and cultivation of the past prevalent during the late nineteenth century would thus be recorded in a district which remains largely as it was developed in the late nineteenth century.

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___ *Third* ______________, Boston, 1836.

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___ *Fourth* ______________, Boston, 1837.

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___ *Fifth* ______________, Boston, 1838.

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___ *Sixth* ______________, Boston, 1839.

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___ *Seventh* ______________, Boston, 1840.

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___ *Eighth* ______________, Boston, 1841.

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BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED IN THE LEATHER DISTRICT:

1880 - 1930

no.	date	owner	material	use	structure
		architect	no. floors	price	

ATLANTIC AVENUE

5	1899	Francis Peabody, et. al. A.H. Bowditch	brick 11	hotel	steel frame
5-713	1892	John C. Haynes George W. Pope	brick 6	mercantile	iron posts
7-719	1901	C.G. Rice William G. Rautous	brick 8	warehouse	
7-729	1915	Daniel Collins A.J. Carpenter	brick 6	mercantile	iron posts
9-749	1917	Beach Street Trust W.H. & H.A. Root	brick, conc. 3	sub-postal sta.	
1-757	1891	Charles E. Cotting, trs. Peabody & Stearns	brick 6		iron posts
9-761	1883	Patrick Wooley James Fogerty	brick 4	store, dwelling	iron posts
9	1920	Albert R. Rosenthal Monks & Johnson	concrete 11	mercantile	concrete flat slab

BEACH STREET

106-112	1898	Boston Real Estate Trust Winslow and Wetherell	brick 5	warehouse --	iron & wood
109-111	c. 1905	unknown unknown	brick 5		iron & wood
115-119	c. 1885	unknown unknown	brick 5		iron & wood
134-40	c. 1905	unknown unknown	brick 5		iron & wood

EAST STREET

7	c. 1922	City of Boston unknown	brick 3	fire sta.	
20-24	1919	Snider & Drukor F.A. Norcross	brick 7	store, offices	concrete flat slab
4-14	1910	James A. Lowell Whidden & Co. (razed 1970, presently open air parking)	brick 3	stores, offices	steel frame

LINCOLN STREET, EAST SIDE

66-86	1894	John S. Farlow estate W.J. Sears	brick 6	mercantile $300,000.	iron posts
104-114	1893	Robert Codman, trs. George J. Porter	br. brick 6	lt. mechan.	iron posts
118-128	1888	William Simes Frank E. Kidder	brick 6	mer., ware.	iron posts
130	1889	J. Franklin Faxon W.R. Emerson	brick 6	mercantile	iron posts
134	1889	Laura C. Sturtevant Winslow & Wetherell	br. brick 6	mercantile	iron posts
138-144	1889	Jonathan French Winslow & Wetherell	br. brick 6	mercantile	iron posts
162	c. 1860	unknown unknown	brick 3		
166	c. 1860	Alvin D. Puffer unknown	iron 4		iron posts

LINCOLN STREET, EAST SIDE

170	c. 1905	unknown unknown	brick 5		
174-180	1905	W.B. French, et.al. Nagro & Nagro	brick 5	mercantile	
196	c.1880	unknown unknown	brick 4		
200	c.1880	unknown unknown	brick 4		
202	c.1880	unknown unknown	brick 4		
210-216	1920	Lincoln Street Trust George Jacobs	brick 9	storage	concrete flatslab
182-190	1922	Lincoln Street Trust George Jacobs	brick 9	mercantile	concrete flat slab

SOUTH STREET, EAST SIDE

62-66	1880	Leopold Morse Louis Weissbein	brick 5	mercantile $75,000.	
76-86	1895	Randall L. Remman W.F. Goodwin	brick 5	mercantile	iron posts
90-100	1883	F.M., A.G. Frost A.S. Drisko	brick 5	mercantile $15,000.	iron posts
102-112	1884	W.A. Prescott, et.al. Alden Finn	brick 5	mercantile $13,000.	iron posts
114-122	1883	William Blake, et. al. Louis Weissbein	brick 5	mercantile	iron posts
164-174	c. 1900	unknown unknown (razed 1964, presently open parking)	brick 3 - 4		
176-80	c. 1900	unknown unknown (razed 1964, presently open air parking)	brick 5 - 6		

LINCOLN STREET, WEST SIDE

109-153	1836	U.S. Hotel Corp. unknown	brick 5	hotel	
		(razed 1955, presently garage and offices built 1955)			
155-205	1880	Boston & Albany R.R. Alexander R. Esty	brick 4	passenger sta.	
	1901	-- Peabody & Stearns	brick 5	mercantile	steelframe

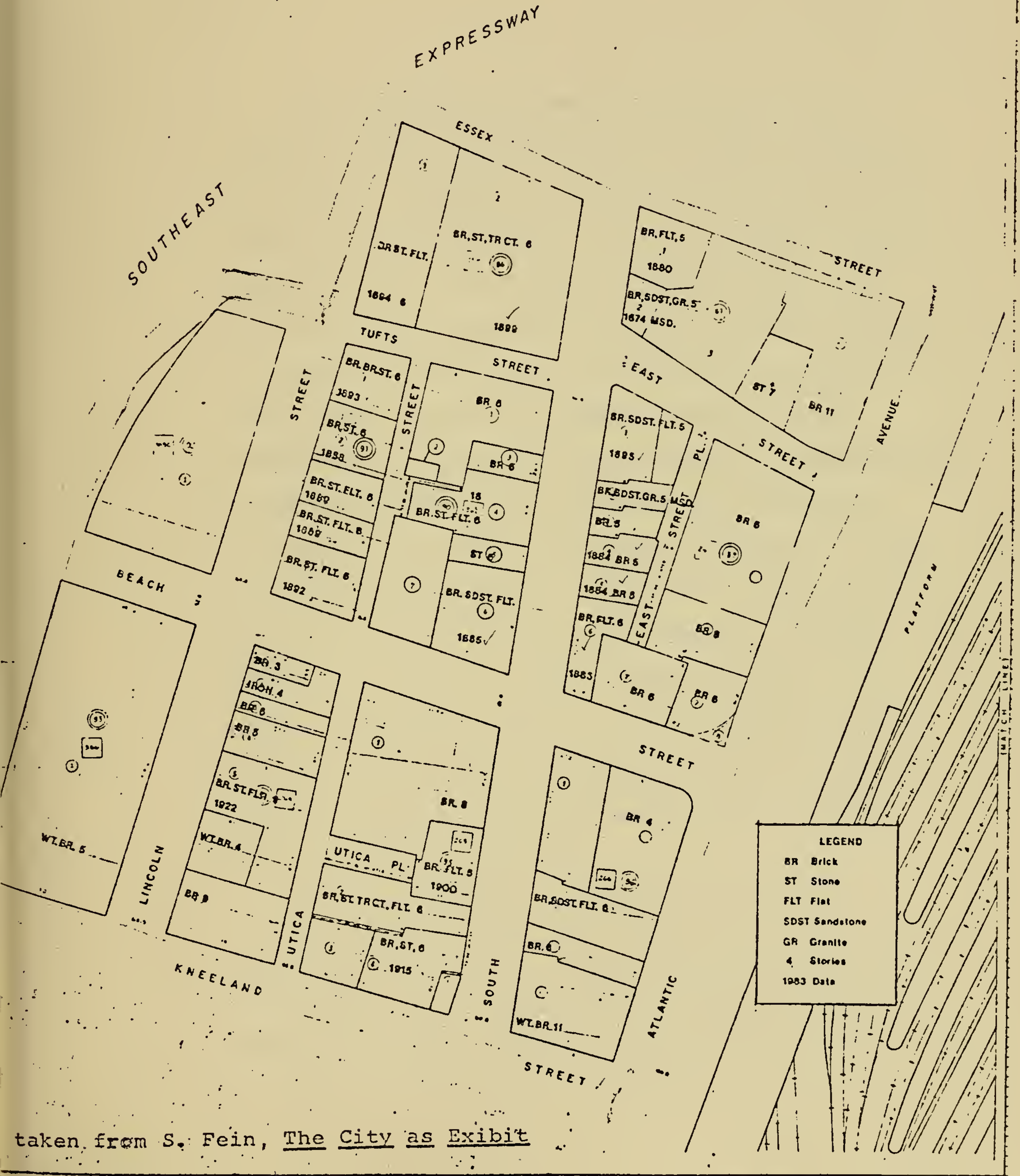
SOUTH STREET, WEST SIDE (Essex to Beach Streets)

77-99	1899	Charles E. Cotting, et. al. Winslow & Wetherell	brick 8	mercantile	steel frame
105	1886	Charles Tomy Chamberlain & Whidden	brick 6	mercantile	iron posts
107	1886	J. Franklin Faxon unknown	brick 6	mercantile	iron posts
121-123	1886	J. Franklin Faxon unknown	brick 5	mercantile	iron posts
127-131	1888	J. Franklin Faxon unknown	br. brick 6	mercantile	iron & wood posts
137-139	c. 18	unknown unknown	brick 6		iron posts
143-157	1885	J. Franklin Faxon J.H. Besarick	brick 6	mercantile	iron posts

SOUTH STREET, WEST SIDE (Beach to Kneeland Streets)

161-173	1912	L.D. Towle Arthur H. Bowditch	brick 8		
179-193	1900	A. Lawrence estate Fehmer & Page	brick 5	mercantile	iron posts
195-201	1915	Frederick J. Weyland Henri Desmond	brick 6	Lt. manf., store	concrete flat slab
207-209	1915	Renton Whidden Whidden - Beekman	brick 6	stores, offices	steel frame

Materials, Stories, & Dates – Leather District



taken from S. Fein, The City as Exibit

PRESENTATION OF DISCOURSE DATA

The following are maps and charts of the Leather District produced by the computer language Discourse. Although the data only illustrates the direction of development and basic changes in urban character, it is hoped that a more complete data structure would result in a more thorough analysis of changes in urban form. The data is included in this thesis only as an example of how machine languages can by used in the analysis of architecture and urban spaces. Since the data is incomplete and time was limited, the program has been of little help for the purposes of this thesis. The program has shown, however, that even though the Leather District is small in scale, there was some real estate assemblage occrring in the late nineteenth century which resulted in larger parcels, and the type of ownership changed at this time to multiple high comverage owners.

The transparancy is provided to show the relationship between present development and earlier development. There is a slight distortion around Beach Street which necessitates juggling the map to read the north and south sides.

Low Buildings
· 1 - 2 stories high

	1867a	1874a	1883a	1888a	1890a	1917a	1922a
Atlantic Ave.	3	3	3	3	2	1	0
Beach St.	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
East St.	4	3	2	2	1	1	0
East Street Pl.	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Kneeland St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lincoln St.	3	2	4	2	0	0	0
South St.	5	5	5	2	2	0	0
South Street Court	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tufts St.	4	4	4	3	0	0	0
Utica St.	13	13	8	5	3	1	1
Utica Pl.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Essex St.	1	1	1	1	1	0	0

Mid Buildings
3-4 stories high

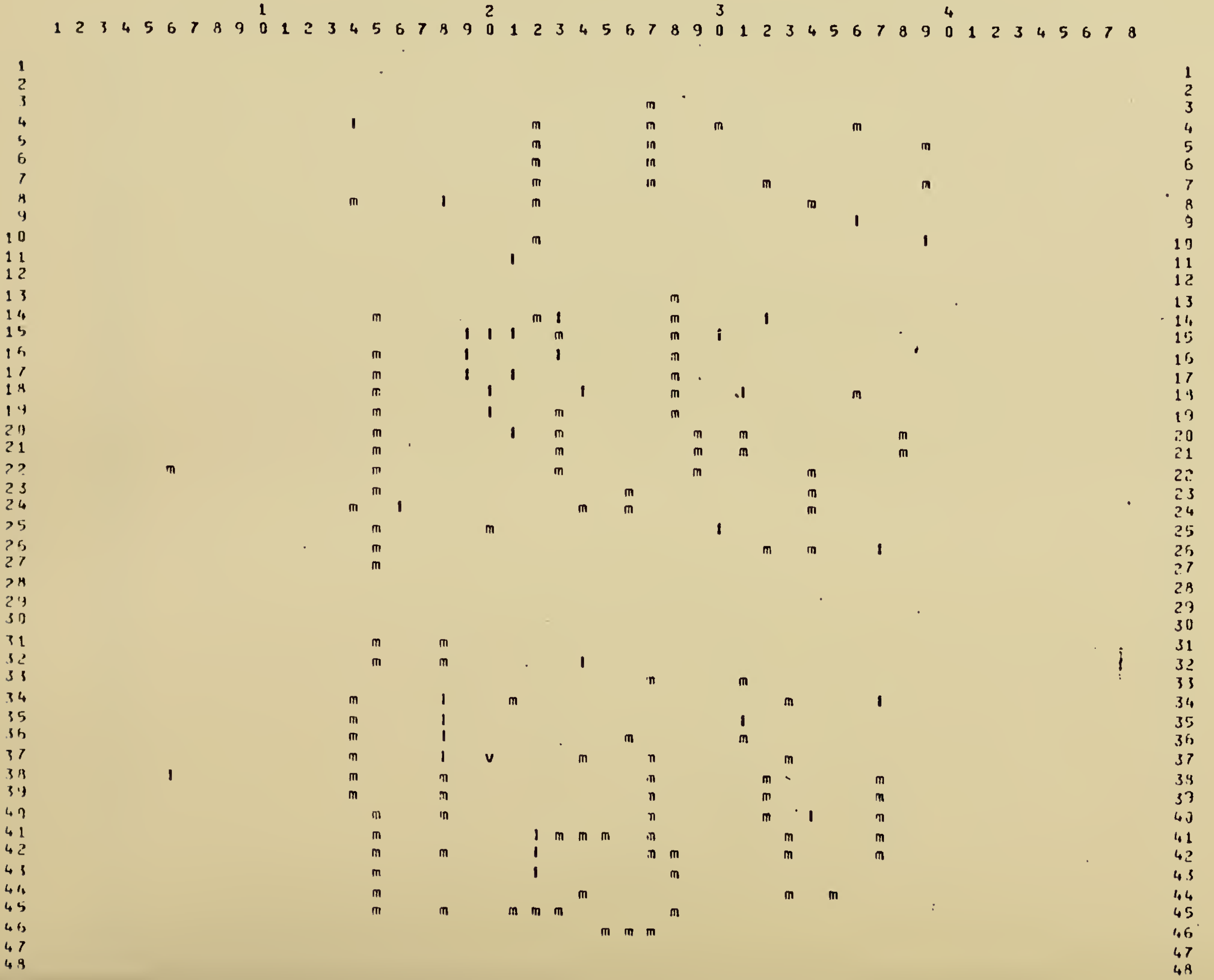
	1867a	1874a	1883a	1888a	1898a	1917a	1922a
Atlantic Ave.	12	12	12	12	3	1	1
Beach St.	6	6	6	5	2	0	0
East St.	7	7	6	5	4	3	2
East Street Pl.	7	7	6	5	3	0	0
Kneeland St.	10	10	10	10	10	7	5
Lincoln St.	32	31	28	29	14	10	5
South St.	52	52	36	21	16	3	1
South Street Court	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tufts St.	4	4	4	3	0	0	0
Utica St.	16	16	13	12	9	6	3
Utica Pl.	4	4	4	4	4	1	0
Essex St.	2	2	2	2	2	0	0

High Buildings
greater than 4 stories high

	1867a	1874a	1883a	1888a	1898a	1917a	1922a
Atlantic Ave.	0	0	0	0	1	4	4
Beach St.	0	0	0	1	3	4	4
East St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
East Street Pl.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kneeland St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lincoln St.	0	0	1	2	10	13	14
South St.	0	0	4	12	14	19	22
South Street Court	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tufts St.	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Utica St.	0	0	0	1	2	2	2
Utica Pl.	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Essex St.	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning -- D I S C O U R S E MAP -- 05/02/74 1433.4 edt Thu

height series 1867



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M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning -- D I S C O U R S E MAP -- 05/02/74 1433.6 edt Thu

height series
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1874

l= low
m= mid

h= high
v= vacant

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                       1                   2                   3                   4
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

 1                                                                                                      1
 2                                                                                                      2
 3                                                       m                                              3
 4           m                 v               m         m     m           m                            4
 5                                             m         m                       m                      5
 6                                             m         m                                              6
 7                                             m         m         m             m                      7
 8                             m       l       m                       m                                8
 9                                                                           l                          9
10                                             m                                 l                      10
11                                           l                                                          11
12                                                                                                      12
13                                                         m                                            13
14                               m             m l         m       m                                    14
15                                       l l l   m         m   l                                        15
16                               m       l       l         m                                            16
17                               m       l   l             m                                            17
18                               m         l       l       m     l         m                            18
19                               m         l     m         m                                            19
20                               m           l   m           m   m             m                        20
21                               m               m           m   m             m                        21
22                               m               m           m         m                                22
23                               m                     m               m                                23
24                             m   l                 m   m             m                                24
25                               m         m                   l                                        25
26                               m                                 m   m     l                          26
27                               m                                                                      27
28                                                                                                      28
29                                                                                                      29
30                                                                                                      30
31                               m     m                                                                31
32                               m     m           l                                                    32
33                                                       m       m                                      33
34                             m       l     m                       m       l                          34
35                             m       l                         l                                      35
36                             m       l               m         m                                      36
37                             m       l   v       m     m           m                                  37
38             l               m       m                 m         m         m                          38
39                             m       m                 m         m         m                          39
40                               m     m                 m         m   l     m                          40
41                               m             l m m m   m           m       m                          41
42                               m     m       l         m m         m       m                          42
43                               m             l           m                                            43
44                               m                 m                 m   m                              44
45                               m     m     m m m         m                                            45
46                                                 m m m                                                46
47                                                                                                      47
48                                                                                                      48
```

```
M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning  --  D I S C O U R S E  MAP  --  05/02/74  1433.9 edt Thu

height series
```

1883

l= low
m= mid

h= high
v= vacant

```
                        1                   2                   3                   4
      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

 1                                                                                                     1
 2                                                                                                     2
 3                                                          h                                          3
 4                              v               m                           m                          4
 5                                              m           h                     m                    5
 6                                              m                                                      6
 7                                              m                   m             m                    7
 8                              m       l       m           h           m                              8
 9                                                                          l                          9
10                                              m                                 l                   10
11                                            l                                                       11
12                                                                                                    12
13                                                          v                                         13
14                                m             l l         v       m                                 14
15                                      l l l   m         m   v                                       15
16                                m       l       l         m                                         16
17                                m       l   l                                                       17
18                                m         l       l           h           m                         18
19                                m         l     m                                                   19
20                                m           v   m           m   m             m                     20
21                                m               m           m   m             m                     21
22              h                 m               m           m         m                             22
23                                m                                     m   m                         23
24                              m   l               m   m               m                             24
25                                m         m                   l                                     25
26                                m                                 m   m     l                       26
27                                m                                                                   27
28                                                                                                    28
29                                                                                                    29
30                                                                                                    30
31                                m     m                                                             31
32                                m     m           l                                                 32
33                                                        m       m                                   33
34                              m       l     m                         m       l                     34
35                              m       l                         v                                   35
36                              m       l               m         v                                   36
37                              m       m   m       m     m           v                               37
38              l               m       m                 m         v         m                       38
39                              m       m                 m         m         m                       39
40                                m     m                 m         m   l     m                       40
41                                m             v m m m   m           m       m                       41
42                                m     m       v         m m         v       m                       42
43                                l             v           m                                         43
44                                m                 m                 v   m                           44
45                                l     m     m m m         m                                         45
46                                                    m m m                                           46
47                                                                                                    47
48                                                                                                    48
```

```
M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning -- D I S C O U R S E  MAP -- 05/02/74  1434.2 edt Thu

height series
```

1888

l= low
m= mid
h= high
v= vacant

```
                        1                   2                   3                   4
      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

  1                                                                                                     1
  2                                                                                                     2
  3                                                         h                                           3
  4                                             m                           m                           4
  5                                             m           h                     m                     5
  6                                             m                                                       6
  7                                             m                   m             m                     7
  8                             h       l       m           h           m                               8
  9                                                                         l                           9
 10                                             h                                 l                    10
 11                                                                                                    11
 12                                                                                                    12
 13                                                         v                                          13
 14                               m                                 m                                  14
 15                                     l l l   h         m                                            15
 16                               m       l                 m                                          16
 17                               m         h                                                          17
 18                               m                 h           h           m                          18
 19                               m         l                                                          19
 20                               m               h                             m                      20
 21                               m                             h               m                      21
 22               h               m               h                     m                              22
 23                               m                                     m   m                          23
 24                             m   l                                   m                              24
 25                               m         m       h           h                                      25
 26                               m                                 m   m     l                        26
 27                               m                                                                    27
 28                                                                                                    28
 29                                                                                                    29
 30                                                                                                    30
 31                               m     m                                                              31
 32                               m     m           h                                                  32
 33                                                       m       m                                    33
 34                             m       l     m   l                   m       l                        34
 35                             m       l                                                              35
 36                             m       l         l     m         l                                    36
 37                             m       m   m       m     m           l                                37
 38               l             m       m                 m         v         m                        38
 39                             m       m                 m         m         m                        39
 40                               m     m                 m         v   l     m                        40
 41                               m             v m m m   m           m       m                        41
 42                               m     m       v         m           m       m                        42
 43                               m             v         m                                            43
 44                               m                 m                 m   m                            44
 45                               m     m     m m m         m                                          45
 46                                                 m m m                                              46
 47                                                                                                    47
 48                                                                                                    48
```

```
M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning  --  D I S C O U R S E  MAP  --  05/02/74  1433.4 edt Thu

height series

                        1                   2                   3                   4
      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

 1                                                                                                         1
 2                                                                                                         2
 3                                                          m                                              3
 4                                l               m         m     m           m                            4
 5                                                m         m                       m                      5
 6                                                m         m                                              6
 7                                                m         m         m             m                      7
 8                                m       l       m                       m                                8
 9                                                                            l                            9
10                                                m                                 l                     10
11                                              l                                                         11
12                                                                                                        12
13                                                            m                                           13
14                                  m             m l         m       l                                   14
15                                          l l l   m         m   l                                       15
16                                  m       l       l         m                                           16
17                                  m       l   l             m                                           17
18                                  m         l       l       m     l         m                           18
19                                  m         l     m         m                                           19
20                                  m           l   m           m   m             m                       20
21                                  m               m           m   m             m                       21
22                m                 m               m           m         m                               22
23                                  m                     m               m                               23
24                                m   l                 m   m             m                               24
25                                  m         m                   l                                       25
26                                  m                                 m   m     l                         26
27                                  m                                                                     27
28                                                                                                        28
29                                                                                                        29
30                                                                                                        30
31                                  m     m                                                               31
32                                  m     m           l                                                   32
33                                                          m       m                                     33
34                                m       l     m                       m       l                         34
35                                m       l                         l                                     35
36                                m       l               m         m                                     36
37                                m       l   v       m     m           m                                 37
38                l               m       m                 m         m         m                         38
39                                m       m                 m         m         m                         39
40                                  m     m                 m         m   l     m                         40
41                                  m             l m m ŋ   m           m       m                         41
42                                  m     m       l         m m         m       m                         42
43                                  m             l           m                                           43
44                                  m                 m                 m   m                             44
45                                  m     m     m m m         m                                           45
46                                                      q m m                                             46
47                                                                                                        47
48                                                                                                        48
```

1898

l = low
m= mid

h= high
v= vacant

Property of
BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

```
M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning  --  D I S C O U R S E  MAP  --  05/02/74  1434.6 edt Thu

height series
```

1917

l= low

m= mid

h= high

v= vacant

```
                        1                   2                   3                   4
      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

 1                                                                                                      1
 2                                                                                                      2
 3                                                          h                                           3
 4                                                                          h                           4
 5                                                          h                                           5
 6                                                                                                      6
 7                                                                  m             h                     7
 8                              h             h             h                                           8
 9                                                                          l                           9
10                                                                                                      10
11                                                                                                      11
12                                                                                                      12
13                                                                                                      13
14                                                            h     m                                   14
15                                            h     h                                                   15
16                                h                                                                     16
17                                            h                                                         17
18                                                    h           h           h                         18
19                                h         l                                                           19
20                                                  h                                                   20
21                                h                             h                                       21
22                h                 h               h                                                   22
23                                h                                                                     23
24                                                                                                      24
25                                            h       h           h                                     25
26                                h                                     h   h h                         26
27                                                                                                      27
28                                                                                                      28
29                                                                                                      29
30                                                                                                      30
31                                m                                                                     31
32                                m     h           h                                                   32
33                                                              m                                       33
34                                h           h           h           h       l                         34
35                                                                                                      35
36                                h                                                                     36
37                              m       m                                                               37
38                h             m       m                 h                                             38
39                              m       m                                     h                         39
40                                m     m                                                               40
41                                m             v m                   h                                 41
42                                m     m       v     h               m                                 42
43                                h             v       h                 m                             43
44                                m                 m                 m                                 44
45                                m     m     m m m         m                                           45
46                                                                                                      46
47                                                                                                      47
48                                                                                                      48
```

```
M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning  --  D I S C O U R S E  MAP  --  05/02/74  1434.8 edt Thu

height series
```

1922

l= low

m= mid

h= high

v= vacant

```
                       1                   2                   3                   4
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

 1                                                                                                     1
 2                                                                                                     2
 3                                                         h                                           3
 4                                                                         h                           4
 5                                                         h                                           5
 6                                                                                                     6
 7                                                                 m             h                     7
 8                             h             h             h                                           8
 9                                                                         h                           9
10                                                                                                    10
11                                                                                                    11
12                                                                                                    12
13                                                                                                    13
14                                                           h     m                                  14
15                                         h     h                                                    15
16                               h                                                                    16
17                                         h                   h                                      17
18                                                 h                       h                          18
19                               h         l                   h                                      19
20                                               h             h                                      20
21                               h                                                                    21
22               h                 h               h             h                                    22
23                               h                                         h                          23
24                                                                                                    24
25                                         h       h           h                                      25
26                               h                                     h     h                        26
27                                                                                                    27
28                                                                                                    28
29                                                                                                    29
30                                                                                                    30
31                               m                                                                    31
32                               m     h           h                                                  32
33                                                               m                                    33
34                               h           h           h           h       m                        34
35                                                                                                    35
36                               h                                                                    36
37                                                                                                    37
38               h                 h                       h                                          38
39                                                                             h                      39
40                               m     m                                                              40
41                               m                                   h                                41
42                               m     m             h                                                42
43                                                     h                 h                            43
44                                                 m                                                  44
45                               h           m m m         m                                          45
46                                                                                                    46
47                                                                                                    47
48                                                                                                    48
```

Brick Buildings

	1867a	1874a	1883a	1888a	1898a	1917a	1922a
Atlantic Ave.	3	3	3	4	1	4	5
Beach St.	5	5	5	5	5	4	4
East St.	4	5	5	4	3	2	3
East Street Pl.	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
Kneeland St.	5	5	5	6	6	6	5
Lincoln St.	14	14	22	23	24	23	19
South St.	9	10	7	20	19	19	20
South Street Court	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tufts St.	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
Utica St.	12	12	10	10	10	8	5
Utica Pl.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Essex St.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Brick Buildings with Frame Outbuildings

	1867a	1874a	1883a	1888a	1898a	1917a	1922a
Atlantic Ave.	6	5	5	4	0	0	0
Beach St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
East St.	2	2	1	1	1	1	0
East Street Pl.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kneeland St.	5	5	5	4	4	1	0
Lincoln St.	9	9	9	8	0	0	0
South St.	33	32	20	9	9	0	0
South Street Court	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tufts St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Utica St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Utica Pl.	4	4	4	4	4	1	0
Essex St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Frame Buildings

	1867a	1874a	1883a	1886a	1898a	1917a	1922a
Atlantic Ave.	4	4	4	4	3	1	0
Beach St.	2	2	2	1	0	0	0
East St.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
East Street Pl.	6	5	5	4	3	0	0
Kneeland St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lincoln St.	9	8	9	9	0	0	0
South St.	11	10	10	3	1	0	0
South Street Court	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tufts St.	2	2	2	2	0	0	0
Utica St.	7	7	6	4	1	0	0
Utica Pl.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Essex St.	1	1	1	1	1	0	0

```
M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning  --  D I S C O U R S E  MAP  --  04/29/74  1745.3 est Mon

material series
```

1867

b= brick
o= brick with frame outbuildings
f= frame
V= vacant

```
                        1                   2                   3                   4
      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

 1                                                                                                     1
 2                                                                                                     2
 3                                                        b                                              3
 4                              f               b         o     b           b                            4
 5                                              o         b                       f                      5
 6                                              o         o                                              6
 7                                              o         o         b             b                      7
 8                              o       f       f                       b                                8
 9                                                                          o                            9
10                                              b                                 b                     10
11                                            b                                                         11
12                                                                                                      12
13                                                          o                                           13
14                                o             f f         b       o                                   14
15                                        f b f   f         o   f                                       15
16                                o       f       f         o                                           16
17                                o       f   f             o                                           17
18                                o         b       f       o     b         b                           18
19                                o         b     o         o                                           19
20                                o           f   o           o   b             f                       20
21                                o               o           o   f             f                       21
22              b                 o               o           o         f                               22
23                                o                     f               f                               23
24                              b   b               f   b               f                               24
25                                b         b                   f                                       25
26                                b                                 b   b     f                         26
27                                b                                                                     27
28                                                                                                      28
29                                                                                                      29
30                                                                                                      30
31                                b     b                                                               31
32                                b     f           f                                                   32
33                                                        f       b                                     33
34                              b       f     f                       b       b                         34
35                              b       f                         f                                     35
36                              b       b               o         f                                     36
37                              f       b           o     o           b                                 37
38              b               f       b                 o         o         o                         38
39                              f       b                 o         o         o                         39
40                                f     b                 o         o   f     o                         40
41                                f             b o o o   o           o       o                         41
42                                f     b       b         o b         o       o                         42
43                                f             b           o                                           43
44                                b                 o                 o   o                             44
45                                f     b     b b b         b                                           45
46                                                o o o                                                 46
47                                                                                                      47
48                                                                                                      48
```

```
M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning  --  D I S C O U R S E  MAP  --  04/29/74  1745.6 edt Mon

material series
```

1874

b=brick
o=brick with frame outbuildings
f=frame
v=vacant

```
                      1                   2                   3                   4
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

 1                                                                                                         1
 2                                                                                                         2
 3                                                      b                                                  3
 4          b                                 b         o     b           b                                4
 5                                            b         f                       f                          5
 6                                            o         o                                                  6
 7                                            o         o         b             b                          7
 8                            o       f       o                       b                                    8
 9                                                                        o                                9
10                                            b                                 b                       10
11                                          b                                                           11
12                                                                                                      12
13                                                        o                                             13
14                              o             f f         b       b                                     14
15                                      f b f   f         b   o                                         15
16                              o       f       f         o                                             16
17                              o       f   f             o                                             17
18                              o         b       f       o     b         b                             18
19                              o         b     o         o                                             19
20                              o           f   o           o   b             f                         20
21                              o               o           o   f             f                         21
22                              o               o           o         f                                 22
23                              o                     f               f                                 23
24                            b   b               f   b                                                 24
25                              b         b                   f                                         25
26                              b                                 b   b     f                           26
27                              b                                                                       27
28                                                                                                      28
29                                                                                                      29
30                                                                                                      30
31                              b     b                                                                 31
32                              b     f           f                                                     32
33                                                      f       b                                       33
34                            b       f     f                       b       b                           34
35                            o       f                         f                                       35
36                            b       b               o         f                                       36
37                            f       b           o     o           b                                   37
38            b               f       b                 o         o         o                           38
39                            f       b                 o         o         o                           39
40                              f     b                 o         o   f     o                           40
41                              f             b o o o   o           o       o                           41
42                              f     b       b         o b         o       o                           42
43                              f             b           o                                             43
44                              b                 o                 o   o                               44
45                              f     o     b b b         b                                             45
46                                                  o o o                                               46
47                                                                                                      47
48                                                                                                      48
```

```
M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning  --  D I S C O U R S E  MAP  --  04/29/74  1745.8 edt Mon

material series     1883    b=brick                            v= vacant
                            f=frame
                            o= brick with frame outbuildings

                        1                   2                   3                   4
      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

 1                                                                                                     1
 2                                                                                                     2
 3                                                                                                     3
 4                                          b                           b                              4
 5                                          o                                 f                        5
 6                                          o                                                          6
 7                                          o                   b             b                        7
 8                          o       f       o                       b                                  8
 9                                                                      o                              9
10                                          b                                 b                        10
11                                        b                                                            11
12                                                                                                     12
13                                                                                                     13
14                            o             f f                 b                                      14
15                                    f b f   f         f                                              15
16                            o       f       f         f                                              16
17                            o       f   f                                                            17
18                            o         b       f           b           b                              18
19                            o         b     o                                                        19
20                            o               o           o   b             b                          20
21                            o               o           o   f             f                          21
22          b                 o               o           o         f                                  22
23                            o                                     f   f                              23
24                          b   b               f   b               f                                  24
25                            b         b                   f                                          25
26                            b                                 b   b     f                            26
27                            b                                                                        27
28                                                                                                     28
29                                                                                                     29
30                                                                                                     30
31                            b     b                                                                  31
32                            b     f           f                                                      32
33                                                    f       b                                        33
34                          b       f     f                       b       f                            34
35                          b       b                                                                  35
36                          b       b               o                                                  36
37                          b       b   f       o     o                                                37
38          b               b       b                 o                   o                            38
39                          b       b                 o         o         o                            39
40                            b     b                 o         o   b     o                            40
41                            b               o o o   b           o       o                            41
42                            b     b                 b b                 o                            42
43                            b                         o                                              43
44                            b                 o                     o                                44
45                            b     b     b b b         b                                              45
46                                                o o o                                                46
47                                                                                                     47
48                                                                                                     48
```

```
M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning  --  D I S C O U R S E  MAP  --  04/29/74  1745.3 edt Mon

material series
```

1888

b= brick
o= brick with frame outbuildings
f= frame
v=vacant

```
                       1                   2                   3                   4
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

  1                                                                                                   1
  2                                                                                                   2
  3                                                                                                   3
  4                                            b                           b                          4
  5                                            b                                 f                    5
  6                                            o                                                      6
  7                                            o                   b             b                    7
  8                          b       f       o                       b                                8
  9                                                                        o                          9
 10                                            b                                 b                   10
 11                                                                                                  11
 12                                                                                                  12
 13                                                                                                  13
 14                            b                                 b                                   14
 15                                    f b f     b       f                                           15
 16                            o       f                 f                                           16
 17                            b         b                                                           17
 18                            o                   b         b           b                           18
 19                            b         b                                                           19
 20                            o                 b                           b                       20
 21                            b                             b               f                       21
 22            o                 b                 b                   f                             22
 23                            o                                     f   f                           23
 24                          b   b                                   f                               24
 25                            b         b         b         b                                       25
 26                            b                                 b   b     f                         26
 27                            b                                                                     27
 28                                                                                                  28
 29                                                                                                  29
 30                                                                                                  30
 31                            b     b                                                               31
 32                            b     f             b                                                 32
 33                                                      f       b                                   33
 34                          b       f     f                       b       f                         34
 35                          b       b                                                               35
 36                          b       b               o         b                                     36
 37                          o       b   f         o   o           b                                 37
 38            b               b       b                 o                   o                       38
 39                          b       b                 o         b         o                         39
 40                            b     b                 o             b     o                         40
 41                            b               o o o   b           b       b                         41
 42                            o     b                 b           b       o                         42
 43                            b                       b                                             43
 44                            b                 b                 b   o                             44
 45                            b     b     o b b         b                                           45
 46                                                  o o o                                           46
```

```
M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning  --  D I S C O U R S E  MAP  --  04/29/74  1746.1 est Mon

material series        1898

                        1                   2                   3                   4
      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
 1                                                                                                        1
 2                                                                                                        2
 3                                                                                                        3
 4                                                                          b                             4
 5                                              b                                                         5
 6                                              o                                                         6
 7                                              o                   b                                     7
 8                                b       f       o                       b                               8
 9                                                                          o                             9
10                                              b                                                         10
11                                                                                                        11
12                                                                                                        12
13                                                                                                        13
14                                                              b     b                                   14
15                                            b     b                                                     15
16                                  b                                                                     16
17                                            b                                                           17
18                                                    b           b           b                           18
19                                  b         b                                                           19
20                                                  b                                                     20
21                                  b                             b                                       21
22                b                 b               b                     f                               22
23                                  b                                     f   f                           23
24                                                                        f                               24
25                                            b       b           b                                       25
26                                  b                                     b     f                         26
27                                                                                                        27
28                                                                                                        28
29                                                                                                        29
30                                                                                                        30
31                                  b                                                                     31
32                                  b     b           b                                                   32
33                                                          f       b                                     33
34                                b       f     b                       b       f                         34
35                                b       b                                                               35
36                                b       b               o         b                                     36
37                                b       b           o     o           b                                 37
38                b               b       b                 o                                             38
39                                b       b                 o                   b                         39
40                                  b     o                 o                                             40
41                                  b               o o o   b           b                                 41
42                                  b     b                 b           b                                 42
43                                  b                       o               o                             43
44                                  b                 b                 b                                 44
45                                  b     b     b b b         b                                           45
46                                                      o o o                                             46
47                                                                                                        47
```

material series 1917

b= brick
o= brick with frame outbuildings
f= frame
v=vacant

```
                      1                   2                   3                   4
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
 1                                                                                                   1
 2                                                                                                   2
 3                                                                                                   3
 4                                                                          b                          4
 5                                                                                                   5
 6                                                                                                   6
 7                                                                b             b                    7
 8                            b             b                                                        8
 9                                                                          o                          9
10                                                                                                  10
11                                                                                                  11
12                                                                                                  12
13                                                                                                  13
14                                                          b     b                                   14
15                                        b     b                                                     15
16                              b                                                                     16
17                                        b                                                           17
18                                                b           b           b                          18
19                              b         b                                                           19
20                                              b                                                     20
21                              b                             b                                       21
22            b                 b               b                                                     22
23                              b                                                                     23
24                                                                                                  24
25                                        b       b           b                                       25
26                              b                                     b   b b                        26
27                                                                                                  27
28                                                                                                  28
29                                                                                                  29
30                                                                                                  30
31                              b                                                                     31
32                              b     b           b                                                   32
33                                                              b                                     33
34                              b           b           b           b       f                        34
35                                                                                                  35
36                              b                                                                     36
37                            b       b                                                               37
38            b               b       b                 b                                             38
39                            b       b                                     b                        39
40                              b     b                                                               40
41                              b               o                   b                                 41
42                              b     b             b               b                                 42
43                              b                     b                 o                             43
44                              b                 b                 b                                 44
45                              b     b     b b b         b                                           45
46                                                                                                  46
47                                                                                                  47
48                                                                                                  48
```

M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning -- DISCOURSE MAP -- 04/29/74 1746.1 edt Mon

material series 1922

b= brick
o= brick with frame outbuildings
f= frame
v= vacant

```
                       1                   2                   3                   4
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

 1                                                                                                    1
 2                                                                                                    2
 3                                                                                                    3
 4                                                                         b                          4
 5                                               b                                                    5
 6                                               o                                                    6
 7                                               o                   b                                7
 8                               b       f       o                       b                            8
 9                                                                         o                          9
10                                               b                                                   10
11                                                                                                   11
12                                                                                                   12
13                                                                                                   13
14                                                             b     b                               14
15                                           b     b                                                 15
16                                 b                                                                 16
17                                           b                                                       17
18                                                   b           b           b                       18
19                                 b         b                                                       19
20                                             b                                                     20
21                                 b                             b                                   21
22             b                 b               b                     f                             22
23                                 b                                     f   f                       23
24                                                                       f                           24
25                                           b       b           b                                   25
26                                 b                                     b     f                     26
27                                                                                                   27
28                                                                                                   28
29                                                                                                   29
30                                                                                                   30
31                                 b                                                                 31
32                                 b     b           b                                               32
33                                                         f       b                                 33
34                               b       f     b                       b       f                     34
35                               o       b                                                           35
36                               o       b               o       b                                   36
37                               o       b           o     o           b                             37
38             b                 o       b                 o                                         38
39                               o       b                 o                   b                     39
40                                 b     b                 o                                         40
41                                 b             o o o   b           b                               41
42                                 b     b                 b           b                             42
43                                 b                       o               o                         43
44                                 b                 b                 b                             44
45                                 b     b     b b b         b                                       45
46                                                 o o o                                             46
47                                                                                                   47
48                                                                                                   48
```

1867 #	1867 AREA	1874 #	1874 AREA	1883 #	1883 AREA	1888 #	1888 AREA	1898 #	1898 AREA	1917 #	1917 AREA	1922 #	1922 AREA	
1	667	1	667	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Brown,JE
1	672	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Walsh,R
1	707	1	707	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Tully,R
1	740	1	740	1	740	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Loheed,J
1	850	1	850	1	850	1	850	0	0	0	0	0	0	Pausch,C
1	868	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dudley,SW
1	1000	1	1000	1	1000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Harris,MW
1	1250	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Crocker,U
1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Haskins,R
1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Monks,RJ
1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	2	1932	2	2599	0	0	0	0	Puffer,AD
1	1260	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Tirrell,J
1	1400	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Murdock,JM
1	1440	1	1440	1	1440	1	1440	0	0	0	0	0	0	Mather,OH-h
1	1480	1	1480	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Heaton,G
1	1490	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Reilly,J
1	1890	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Martin,J
2	1962	0	0	1	432	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Keith,W
2	2550	2	2560	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Coolidge,J
1	3933	1	3893	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Bangs,E
2	4333	3	4765	2	4333	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Evans,F
8	8463	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Walker,WJ
1	14322	1	14322	2	16471	5	19405	1	14322	0	0	0	0	Franch,WF
2	14899	3	16791	2	14143	2	14143	1	1893	1	1893	1	1893	City Boston
1	34924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	Hotel Assoc,US
1	42290	1	42290	1	42200	1	42200	0	0	0	0	0	0	B&A RR
121	223375	10	21016	4	5496	1	900	3	3365	0	0	0	0	

1867: Ranked Owners

```
  1867        1874        1883        1888        1898        1917        1922
 #   AREA    #   AREA    #   AREA    #   AREA    #   AREA    #   AREA    #   AREA

 0      0    1    464    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Drake,A-h
 0      0    1    530    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Walsh,W-h
 0      0    1    552    0      0    2   7542    1    494    0      0    0      0    Faxon,JF
 0      0    1    647    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Jones,GF
 1    667    1    667    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Brown,JE
 0      0    1    672    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Walsh,R-e
 0      0    1    673    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Collins,DG
 0      0    1    691    1    691    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Holly,P
 0      0    1    698    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Harris,M
 1    707    1    707    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Tully,R
 1    740    1    740    1    740    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Loheed,J
 0      0    1    745    1    745    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Webster,AD
 0      0    1    812    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Beale,S
 0      0    1    817    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Dowd,D
 1    850    1    850    1    850    1    850    0      0    0      0    0      0    Rausch,C
 0      0    1    850    1    850    1    850    0      0    0      0    0      0    Sullivan,E
 0      0    1    868    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Lee,M
 0      0    1    872    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Eater
 0      0    1    900    1    900    1    900    1    900    0      0    0      0    Holler,M
 0      0    1    940    1    512    1    512    0      0    0      0    0      0    Doe,WG
 0      0    1    940    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Harlow,AM
 0      0    1    940    1    520    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Parker,E-h
 0      0    1    983    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Bridges,H
 0      0    1    988    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Curtis,L
 1   1000    1   1000    1   1000    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Harris,MW
 0      0    1   1006    1   1006    1   1006    1   1006    0      0    0      0    Cuntz,JA
 0      0    1   1017    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Meaney,J
 0      0    1   1020    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Greenough,AL
 0      0    1   1020    1   1020    1   1020    0      0    0      0    0      0    Marshall,S
 0      0    1   1040    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Marton,E
 0      0    1   1050    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    McDonald,P
 0      0    1   1054    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Bradley,AU
 0      0    1   1100    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Hurley,W
 0      0    1   1100    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Tothill,GL
 0      0    1   1120    1   1120    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    O'Keefe,T
 0      0    1   1122    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Sullivan
 0      0    1   1135    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Brigham,S
 0      0    1   1162    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Malden
 0      0    1   1178    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Pickering,A
 0      0    1   1200    1   1200    1   1200    0      0    0      0    0      0    VanVoast,H
 0      0    1   1250    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Goddard
 1   1260    1   1260    1   1260    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Crocker,U
 1   1260    1   1260    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Haskins,R
 0      0    1   1260    1   1260    1   1260    0      0    0      0    0      0    Ladd,FW
 1   1260    1   1260    1   1260    1   1260    1   1260    0      0    0      0    Monks,RJ
 1   1260    1   1260    1   1260    2   1932    2   2599    0      0    0      0    Puffer,AD
 0      0    1   1260    1   1260    1   1260    1   1260    0      0    0      0    Shepard,KW
 0      0    1   1260    1   1260    1   1260    1   1260    0      0    0      0    Tirrall,HA
 0      0    1   1275    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Bradstreet,S
 0      0    1   1320    1   1320    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Blood,A
 0      0    1   1340    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    morse,SB
 0      0    1   1348    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Ford,T
 0      0    2   1364    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Owens,O-h
 0      0    1   1400    1   1400    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Potter,DA
 0      0    2   1412    2   1412    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Pendergast,M
 0      0    1   1430    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Allman,T
 0      0    1   1430    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    Stearns,J
```

1874: Ranked Owners

1874: Ranked Owners

```
  0      0     2   1433    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Casey,JT
  1   1440     1   1440    1   1440    1   1440    0      0    0      0    0      0   Mather,OH-h
  0      0     1   1442    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Patterson,E-h
  0      0     1   1452    1   1452    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Bradley,WH
  1   1480     1   1480    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Heaton,G
  0      0     1   1490    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Sullivan,D
  0      0     2   1497    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   O'Neill,R
  0      0     1   1500    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Foster,DW
  0      0     1   1530    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Keith,W-h
  0      0     1   1620    1   1620    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Higgins,J
  0      0     2   1706    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Connor,PM
  0      0     1   1717    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Pierce,GF
  0      0     2   1780    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Watson,W
  0      0     1   1890    1   1890    1   1890    0      0    0      0    0      0   McCully,HC
  0      0     2   1933    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Pollard,T
  0      0     2   2022    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   O'Brien,J
  0      0     2   2120    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Messinger,H-h
  0      0     1   2149    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   McAnulty,D
  0      0     2   2338    2   2338    1   2338    1   2338    0      0    0      0   Collins,J
  0      0     2   2520    2   2520    2   2520    2   2520    2   2520    0      0   Walker,AJ
  2   2560     2   2560    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Coolidge,J
  0      0     1   2576    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Blasland,T
  0      0     1   2686    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Haskins,R-h
  0      0     1   2756    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Willis,B-h
  0      0     1   2800    1   2800    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Goddard,T-t
  0      0     2   2807    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Laughton,CH
  0      0     3   2895    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   O'Connor,P
  0      0     1   3050    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Pierce,SB
  0      0     1   3342    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Collins,JP
  0      0     2   3379    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Carbrey,J-h
  0      0     4   3423    4   3423    4   3423    4   3423    3   2625    0      0   Walker,EH
  0      0     3   3490    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Evans,W
  0      0     1   3753    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Potter
  0      0     1   3940    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Morse,SB
  1   3883     1   3883    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Bangs,E
  0      0     4   4036    1   1155    1   1155    0      0    0      0    0      0   McCool,D
  0      0     3   4040    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Cotting,U
  0      0     1   4445    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Peck,AG-ea
  0      0     3   4514    3   5667    3   5667    0      0    0      0    0      0   Morse,L
  2   4333     3   4765    2   4333    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Evans,F
  0      0     3   4825    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Pierce,J-h
  0      0     1   4915    1   4915    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Collamore,C-h
  0      0     1   5000    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Freilnard,SA
  0      0     1   5610    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Phillips,S-h
  0      0     1   6041    1   6040    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Doherty,M
  0      0     1   7135    1   7135    1   7135    0      0    0      0    0      0   Hatch,S
  0      0     2   7204    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Faxon,JF+J
  0      0     1  10596    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0    0      0   Willis,H
  0      0     2  12151    2  12151    1  11071    0      0    0      0    0      0   Farlow,JS
  1  14322     1  14322    2  16471    5  19405    1  14322    0      0    0      0   French,WF
  0      0     2  15347    2  15347    4  16403    4  16403    0      0    0      0   Hills,WS
  2  14998     3  16791    2  14143    2  14143    1   1893    1   1893    1   1893   City Boston
121 223375    10  21016    4   5896    1    900    3   3365    0      0    0      0
  1  39924     1  39924    1  39924    1  39924    1  39924    1  39924    1  39924   Hotel Assoc,US
  1  42200     1  42200    1  42200    1  42200    0      0    0      0    0      0   B&A RR
```

1883: Ranked Owners

1867 #	1867 AREA	1874 #	1874 AREA	1883 #	1883 AREA	1888 #	1888 AREA	1898 #	1898 AREA	1917 #	1917 AREA	1922 #	1922 AREA	
2	1962	0	0	1	432	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Keith,W
0	0	0	0	1	464	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Owens,J
0	0	0	0	1	464	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Poole+,H
0	0	1	940	1	512	1	512	0	0	0	0	0	0	Doe,WG
0	0	1	940	1	520	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Parker,E-h
0	0	0	0	1	526	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Barry,E
0	0	0	0	1	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Walsh,RJ
0	0	0	0	1	552	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Page,H
0	0	0	0	1	667	1	667	0	0	0	0	0	0	Brown,JE-h
0	0	0	0	1	672	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Haskins Jr,DG
0	0	1	691	1	691	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Holly,P
0	0	0	0	1	698	1	698	2	2563	4	3934	1	1890	Jones,ME
0	0	0	0	1	700	1	1500	0	0	0	0	0	0	Driscoll,CF
0	0	0	0	1	707	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Arlington 5SB
1	740	1	740	1	740	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Lohaed,J
0	0	1	745	1	745	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Webster,AD
0	0	0	0	1	797	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Ryan,J
0	0	0	0	1	817	1	817	1	817	0	0	0	0	Dowd,D-h
1	850	1	850	1	850	1	850	0	0	0	0	0	0	Rausch,C
0	0	1	850	1	850	1	850	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sullivan,E
0	0	0	0	1	868	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Lee,E
0	0	0	0	1	872	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	Holly,M
0	0	0	0	1	880	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	Mansfield,T-g
0	0	1	900	1	900	1	900	1	900	0	0	0	0	Holler,M
0	0	0	0	1	900	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Watson,W-h
0	0	0	0	1	925	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Lyons+,E
1	1000	1	1000	1	1000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Harris,MW
0	0	1	1006	1	1006	1	1006	1	1006	0	0	0	0	Cuntz,JA
0	0	0	0	1	1017	1	1017	1	1017	0	0	0	0	Carey,J+H
0	0	0	0	1	1020	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Denny,D
0	0	1	1020	1	1020	1	1020	0	0	0	0	0	0	Marshall,S
0	0	0	0	1	1039	1	1038	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dingley,JT-h
0	0	0	0	1	1040	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Laughlin,RH
0	0	0	0	1	1054	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Boston Univer
0	0	0	0	1	1100	1	1100	0	0	0	0	0	0	Collins,P
0	0	0	0	1	1100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Hunt,WP
0	0	1	1120	1	1120	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	O'Keefe,T
0	0	0	0	1	1135	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Brigham,N
0	0	4	4036	1	1155	1	1155	0	0	0	0	0	0	McCool,D
0	0	0	0	1	1155	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Tilton,JG
0	0	0	0	1	1162	1	1162	1	1162	0	0	0	0	Cannon,AP
0	0	1	1200	1	1200	1	1200	0	0	0	0	0	0	VanVoast,H
0	0	0	0	1	1250	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Cronan,M
0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	2	1967	0	0	0	0	Bailey,CH
0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	0	0	Conlon,J
1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	Crocker,U
0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0		0	0	0	Ladd,FW
0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260		0	0	0	Lawrence,AS
1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260		0	0	0	Monks,RJ
1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	2	1932	2	2599	0	0	0	0	Puffer,AJ
0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Russell,CE
0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Shepard,KW
0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Tirrell,HA
0	0	0	0	1	1280	1	1122	2	9033	0	0	0	0	Minot,W
0	0	1	1320	1	1320	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Blood,A
0	0	0	0	2	1346	2	1346	1	1100	1	1100	0	0	Hunt,HS
0	0	0	0	1	1350	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Watson,WE

0	0	0	0	1	1400	1	1400	1	1400	0	0	0	0	Haskins,MC
0	0	1	1400	1	1400	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Potter,DA
0	0	2	1412	2	1412	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Pendergast,M
0	0	0	0	1	1430	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Littlefield,A
0	0	0	0	1	1430	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shaw,L-t
0	0	0	0	2	1433	3	2305	1	747	0	0	0	0	Casay,JT-h
1	1440	1	1440	1	1440	1	1440	0	0	0	0	0	0	Mather,OH-h
0	0	1	1452	1	1452	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Bradley,HH
0	0	0	0	1	1480	1	1480	1	1480	0	0	0	0	Heaton,G-h
0	0	0	0	1	1530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Denny,CH
0	0	0	0	2	1547	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Jones,S
0	0	0	0	3	1606	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Tenny,NF
0	0	1	1620	1	1620	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Higgins,J
0	0	0	0	2	1706	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Perkins,J-t
0	0	0	0	1	1777	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Pierce,JF
0	0	1	1890	1	1890	1	1890	0	0	0	0	0	0	McCully,HC
0	0	0	0	2	2244	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Crotty,J
0	0	0	0	2	2272	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Prescott,WA
0	0	0	0	2	2325	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Austin,AW
0	0	2	2338	2	2338	1	2338	1	2338	0	0	0	0	Collins,J
0	0	2	2520	2	2520	2	2520	2	2520	2	2520	0	0	Walker,AJ
0	0	0	0	1	2642	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Faxon,JF+WF
0	0	0	0	1	2686	0	0	0	0	1	1400	0	0	Haskins,DG
0	0	0	0	1	2756	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Parker,FE
0	0	0	0	2	2760	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sullivan,D-t
0	0	1	2800	1	2800	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Goddard,T-t
0	0	0	0	1	3050	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Simoson,DS
0	0	4	3423	4	3423	4	3423	4	3423	3	2625	0	0	Walker,EH
0	0	0	0	3	3430	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Tuttle,W
0	0	0	0	3	3480	3	3480	0	0	3	3480	3	3480	Evans,W-h
0	0	0	0	1	3753	1	5721	0	0	0	0	0	0	Pierce,CB-h
0	0	0	0	1	3883	1	3883	0	0	0	0	0	0	Bangs,E-t
0	0	0	0	3	4040	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Waitt,JH
0	0	0	0	1	4298	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Taft,RJ
0	0	0	0	3	4307	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Bigelow,G-h
2	4333	3	4765	2	4333	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Evans,F
0	0	0	0	1	4445	1	4445	0	0	0	0	0	0	Peck,WG
0	0	0	0	2	4542	2	4542	0	0	0	0	0	0	Lyons,J
0	0	0	0	3	4747	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Aldrich,E
0	0	1	4915	1	4915	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Collamore,C-h
0	0	3	4514	3	5667	3	5667	0	0	0	0	0	0	Morse,L
121	223375	10	21016	4	5896	1	900	3	3365	0	0	0	0	
0	0	1	6041	1	6040	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Doherty,M
0	0	0	0	2	6901	2	6901	1	5610	1	5610	0	0	Farqukar,D+SW
0	0	1	7135	1	7135	1	7135	0	0	0	0	0	0	Hatch,S
0	0	0	0	2	8340	1	3848	1	3848	1	3848	0	0	Blake,WP-ea
0	0	0	0	1	10596	1	10596	3	14643	0	0	0	0	Willis,H-ea
0	0	2	12151	2	12151	1	11021	0	0	0	0	0	0	Farlow,JS
2	14898	3	16791	2	14143	2	14143	1	1893	1	1893	1	1893	City Boston
0	0	0	0	3	15114	2	15114	0	0	0	0	0	0	Faxon,JF+J-h
0	0	2	15347	2	15347	4	16403	4	16403	0	0	0	0	Hills,WS
1	14322	1	14322	2	16471	5	19405	1	14322	0	0	0	0	French,WF
1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	Hotel Assoc,US
1	42200	1	42200	1	42200	1	42200	0	0	0	0	0	0	B&A RR

1883: Ranked Owners

1867		1874		1883		1888		1898		1917		1922		
#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	
0	0	1	940	1	512	1	512	0	0	0	0	0	0	Doe,WG
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	520	0	0	0	0	0	0	Perry,BF
0	0	0	0	1	667	1	667	0	0	0	0	0	0	Brown,JE-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	691	0	0	0	0	0	0	Holly -h
0	0	0	0	1	698	1	698	2	2563	4	3934	1	1890	Jones,ME
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	698	0	0	0	0	0	0	Minot Jr,W
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	707	0	0	0	0	0	0	Hughes,ME
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	740	0	0	0	0	0	0	Lohaed,J-h
0	0	0	0	1	817	1	817	1	817	0	0	0	0	Dowd,D-h
1	850	1	850	1	850	1	850	0	0	0	0	0	0	Rausch,C
0	0	1	850	1	850	1	850	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sullivan,E
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	890	1	890	0	0	0	0	Ryan,E
121	223375	10	21016	4	5896	1	900	3	3365	0	0	0	0	
0	0	1	900	1	900	1	900	1	900	0	0	0	0	Holler,M
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	900	0	0	0	0	0	0	Watson,G
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1000	1	1000	1	1000	1	1000	Harris,TS
0	0	1	1006	1	1006	1	1006	1	1006	0	0	0	0	Cuntz,JA
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1008	0	0	0	0	0	0	Burke,H
0	0	0	0	1	1017	1	1017	1	1017	0	0	0	0	Carey,J+H
0	0	1	1020	1	1020	1	1020	0	0	0	0	0	0	Marshall,S
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1020	0	0	0	0	0	0	Soller,W-h
0	0	0	0	1	1038	1	1038	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dingley,JT-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1040	0	0	0	0	0	0	Laughlin,J
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1090	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shepard,O
0	0	0	0	1	1100	1	1100	0	0	0	0	0	0	Collins,P
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1100	0	0	0	0	0	0	Cummings,A
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1120	0	0	0	0	0	0	Griffin,H
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1122	0	0	0	0	0	0	Light,RW
0	0	0	0	1	1290	1	1122	2	9033	0	0	0	0	Minot,W
0	0	4	4036	1	1155	1	1155	0	0	0	0	0	0	McCool,D
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1155	0	0	0	0	0	0	Tilton,JS-ea
0	0	0	0	1	1162	1	1162	1	1162	0	0	0	0	Cannon,AP
0	0	1	1200	1	1200	1	1200	0	0	0	0	0	0	VanVoast,H
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1217	0	0	0	0	0	0	Roth,JH
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1250	0	0	0	0	0	0	Cronan,M-h
0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	2	1967	0	0	0	0	Bailey,CH
0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	0	0	Conlon,J
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1260	0	0	0	0	0	0	Crocker,U-h
0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	0	0	Ladd,FW
0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Lawrence,AS
1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Monks,RJ
0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Russell,CE
0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Shepard,KW
0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Tirrell,HA
0	0	0	0	2	1346	2	1346	1	1100	1	1100	0	0	Hunt,HS
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1350	0	0	0	0	0	0	Waterson,CE
0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1389	0	0	0	0	0	0	Blumu,A
0	0	0	0	1	1400	1	1400	1	1400	0	0	0	0	Haskins,MC
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1400	0	0	0	0	0	0	Potter,DA-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1412	0	0	0	0	0	0	Berry,CF-ea
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1430	0	0	0	0	0	0	Littlefield,HL
1	1440	1	1440	1	1440	1	1440	0	0	0	0	0	0	Mather,OH-h
0	0	0	0	1	1480	1	1480	1	1480	0	0	0	0	Heaton,G-h
0	0	0	0	1	700	1	1500	0	0	0	0	0	0	Driscoll,CF
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1620	0	0	0	0	0	0	Higgins,J-h
0	0	1	1390	1	1390	1	1390	0	0	0	0	0	0	McCully,JC
1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	2	1932	2	2599	0	0	0	0	Puffer,AD

1888: Ranked Owners

1888 : Ranked Owners

```
0      0    0      0    2   1433    3   2305    1    747    0      0    0      0    Casey,JT-h
0      0    0      0    0      0    2   2325    0      0    0      0    0      0    Bradstreet,SA
0      0    2   2338    2   2338    1   2338    1   2338    0      0    0      0    Collins,J
0      0    2   2520    2   2520    2   2520    2   2520    2   2520    0      0    Walker,AJ
0      0    0      0    0      0    1   2696    1   4462    0      0    0      0    Demmon,D
0      0    0      0    0      0    2   2750    0      0    0      0    0      0    Simes,O
0      0    0      0    0      0    1   2756    0      0    0      0    0      0    Ware,EH
0      0    0      0    0      0    1   2900    0      0    0      0    0      0    Goddard,T
0      0    0      0    0      0    3   2930    0      0    0      0    0      0    Lee,J
0      0    0      0    0      0    1   3009    1   3009    0      0    0      0    Baker,EH-eat
0      0    0      0    0      0    1   3050    0      0    0      0    0      0    Simpson,EJ
0      0    4   3423    4   3423    4   3423    4   3423    3   2625    0      0    Walker,EH
0      0    0      0    0      0    1   3430    0      0    0      0    0      0    Marcus,S
0      0    0      0    3   3480    3   3480    0      0    3   3480    3   3480    Evans,W-n
0      0    0      0    0      0    2   3941    0      0    0      0    0      0    Reed,MF
0      0    0      0    2   8840    1   3848    1   3848    1   3848    0      0    Blake,WP-ea
0      0    0      0    1   3983    1   3983    0      0    0      0    0      0    Bangs,E-t
0      0    0      0    0      0    3   4040    0      0    0      0    0      0    Codman,R
0      0    0      0    0      0    2   4333    0      0    0      0    0      0    Evans,CE-h
0      0    0      0    1   4445    1   4445    0      0    0      0    0      0    Peck,HG
0      0    0      0    2   4542    2   4542    0      0    0      0    0      0    Lyons,J
0      0    0      0    0      0    1   4915    0      0    0      0    0      0    Collamore,E+H
0      0    0      0    0      0    2   5190    0      0    0      0    0      0    Morse,MA
0      0    3   4514    3   5667    3   5667    0      0    0      0    0      0    Morse,L
0      0    0      0    1   3753    1   5721    0      0    0      0    0      0    Pierce,CB-h
0      0    0      0    0      0    1   6040    1   7660    0      0    0      0    Doherty,M-h
0      0    0      0    2   6901    2   6991    1   5610    1   5610    0      0    Farqukar,D+SH
0      0    1   7135    1   7135    1   7135    0      0    0      0    0      0    Hatch,S
0      0    1    552    0      0    2   7542    1    484    0      0    0      0    Faxon,JF
0      0    0      0    0      0    2   7596    0      0    0      0    0      0    Jenkins,CA
0      0    0      0    0      0    2   8257    1   3969    0      0    0      0    Gaston,W
0      0    0      0    1  10596    1  10596    3  14643    0      0    0      0    Willis,H-ea
0      0    2  12151    2  12151    1  11021    0      0    0      0    0      0    Farlow,JS
2  14898    3  16791    2  14143    2  14143    1   1893    1   1893    1   1893    City Boston
0      0    0      0    3  15114    2  15114    0      0    0      0    0      0    Faxon,JF+J-h
0      0    2  15347    2  15347    4  16403    4  16403    0      0    0      0    Hills,WS
1  14322    1  14322    2  16471    5  19405    1  14322    0      0    0      0    French,WF
1  39924    1  39924    1  39924    1  39924    1  39924    1  39924    1  39924    Hotel Assoc,US
1  42200    1  42200    1  42200    1  42200    0      0    0      0    0      0    B&A RR
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1898: Ranked Owners

1867 #	1867 AREA	1874 #	1874 AREA	1883 #	1883 AREA	1888 #	1888 AREA	1898 #	1898 AREA	1917 #	1917 AREA	1922 #	1922 AREA	
0	0	1	552	0	0	2	7542	1	484	0	0	0	0	Faxon,JF
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	686	0	0	0	0	Giser,J
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	740	0	0	0	0	Marcus,A
0	0	0	0	2	1433	3	2305	1	747	0	0	0	0	Casey,JT-h
0	0	0	0	1	817	1	817	1	817	0	0	0	0	Dowd,D-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	850	0	0	0	0	Sullivan,DH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	872	0	0	0	0	Caey,JT-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	890	1	880	0	0	0	0	Ryan,E
0	0	1	900	1	900	1	900	1	900	0	0	0	0	Holler,M
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	930	0	0	0	0	Waton,C-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1000	1	1000	1	1000	1	1000	Harris,TS
0	0	1	1006	1	1006	1	1006	1	1006	0	0	0	0	Cuntz,JA
0	0	0	0	1	1017	1	1017	1	1017	0	0	0	0	Carey,J+H
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1100	0	0	0	0	Falvey,M.
0	0	0	0	2	1346	2	1346	1	1100	1	1100	0	0	Hunt,HS
0	0	0	0	1	1162	1	1162	1	1162	0	0	0	0	Cannon,AP
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1250	0	0	0	0	Moleto,A
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	Cheever,DW
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Conlon,TL
0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Lawrenca,AS
1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Monks,RJ
0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Russell,CE
0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Shepard,KW
0	0	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Tirrell,HA
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1260	0	0	0	0	Walker,HC
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1371	0	0	0	0	Jone,MF
0	0	0	0	1	1400	1	1400	1	1400	0	0	0	0	Haskins,MC
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1400	0	0	0	0	Potter,ES
0	0	0	0	1	1480	1	1490	1	1490	0	0	0	0	Heaton,G-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1500	0	0	1	1162	Roth,EF
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1595	0	0	0	0	Converse,E
2	14898	3	16791	2	14143	2	14143	1	1893	1	1893	1	1893	City Boston
0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	2	1967	0	0	0	0	Bailey,CH
0	0	2	2338	2	2338	1	2338	1	2339	0	0	0	0	Collins,J
0	0	2	2520	2	2520	2	2520	2	2520	2	2520	0	0	Walker,AJ
0	0	0	0	1	698	1	698	2	2563	4	3934	1	1890	Jones,ME
1	1260	1	1260	1	1260	2	1932	2	2599	0	0	0	0	Puffer,AD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2855	0	0	0	0	French,J
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3009	1	3003	0	0	0	0	Baker,EM-eat
121	223375	10	21016	4	5896	1	900	3	3365	0	0	0	0	
0	0	4	3423	4	3423	4	3423	4	3423	3	2625	0	0	Walker,EH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3480	0	0	0	0	Evan,W-h
0	0	0	0	2	8840	1	3848	1	3448	1	3849	0	0	Blake,WP-ea
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3883	1	3883	0	0	Bangs,E-eat
0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9267	1	3959	0	0	0	0	Gaston,W
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4040	0	0	0	0	Brigham,PB-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4298	0	0	0	0	Gaston,W-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2686	1	4462	0	0	0	0	Demmon,O
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4542	0	0	0	0	Lyon,J
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5183	0	0	0	0	Ellis,AH
0	0	0	0	2	6901	2	6901	1	5610	1	5610	0	0	Farqukar,D+SW
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5667	0	0	0	0	Morse,L-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5946	1	5946	1	5946	Associates,50
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5171	0	0	0	0	Barnard,CH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	6153	1	22353	1	22353	South St. Trus
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7058	1	7058	1	7058	Proctor,TF-te
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6040	1	7660	0	0	0	0	Doherty,M-h

```
0      0     0      0     1   1280     1   1122     2   9033     0      0     0      0    Minot,H
0      0     0      0     0      0     0      0     3  10513     0      0     0      0    Jenkins,ES
0      0     0      0     0      0     0      0     1  11021     0      0     0      0    Farlow,WG-eat
1  14322     1  14322     2  16471     5  19405     1  14322     0      0     0      0    French,HF
0      0     0      0     0      0     0      0     1  14430     0      0     0      0    Haynes,JC
0      0     0      0     1  10596     1  10596     3  14643     0      0     0      0    Willis,H-ea
0      0     2  15347     2  15347     4  16403     4  16403     0      0     0      0    Hills,HS
0      0     0      0     0      0     0      0     3  17178     4  17662     4  17662    Boston RCT
0      0     0      0     0      0     0      0     5  17293     2  13783     2  13783    Lawrenca,J-eat
0      0     0      0     0      0     0      0     4  22345     0      0     0      0    Rice,CG
1  39924     1  39924     1  39924     1  39924     1  39924     1  39924     1  39924    Hotel Assoc,US
0      0     0      0     0      0     0      0     1  42200     1  42200     1  42200    Loring,A-eat
```

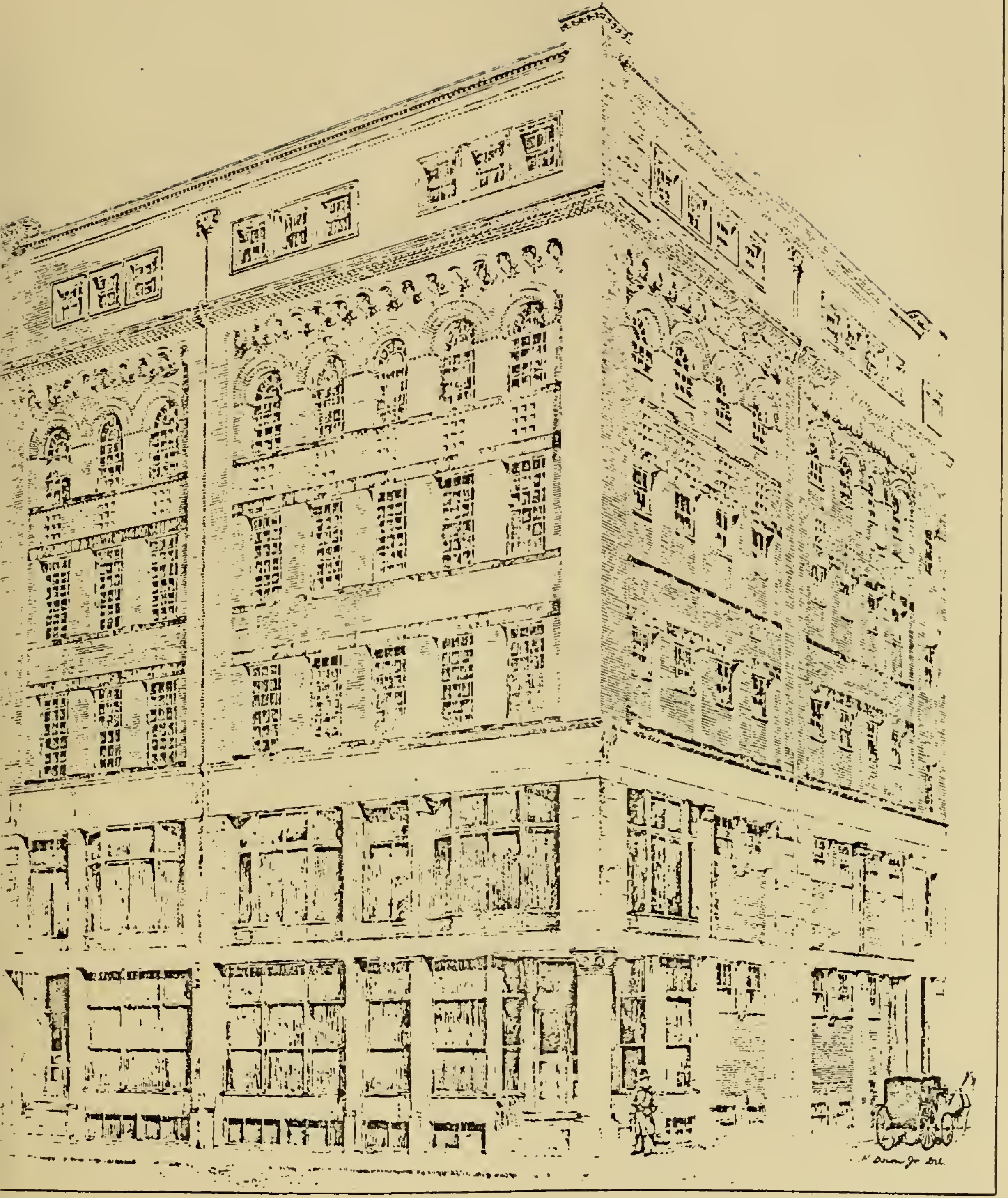
1898: Ranked Owners

1867		1874		1883		1888		1898		1917		1922		
#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	872	1	872	Keefe,A-t
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1000	1	1000	1	1000	1	1000	Harris,TS
0	0	0	0	2	1346	2	1346	1	1100	1	1100	0	0	Hunt,HS
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1162	0	0	Harrity,ME-ea
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1260	1	1260	0	0	Cheever,DH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1260	0	0	Lawrence,AS-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1260	0	0	Lennon,TL
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1260	0	0	Russell,CE-h
0	0	0	0	1	2686	0	0	0	0	1	1400	0	0	Hoskins,DG
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1433	0	0	Keefe,A-ea
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1480	0	0	Sturtevant,LE
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1595	0	0	Cotting,CE-ea
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1782	0	0	Adams,CF-eat
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1885	0	0	Wallace,A
2	14898	3	16791	2	14143	2	14143	1	1893	1	1893	1	1893	City Boston
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2000	1	2000	Perkins Instit
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2338	1	2338	Collins,J-h
0	0	2	2520	2	2520	2	2520	2	2520	2	2520	0	0	Walker,AJ
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2599	2	2599	Hammond,EL-ea
0	0	4	3423	4	3423	4	3423	4	3423	3	2625	0	0	Walker,EH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2855	0	0	Jordan,ED-eat
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3227	0	0	Holmes,JC-eat
0	0	0	0	3	3480	3	3480	0	0	3	3480	3	3480	Evans,W-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3644	0	0	Nawn,HP
0	0	0	0	2	8840	1	3848	1	3848	1	3848	0	0	Blake,HP-ea
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3875	0	0	Weyland,FJ
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3883	1	3883	0	0	Bangs,E-eat
0	0	0	0	1	698	1	698	2	2563	4	3934	1	1890	Jones,ME
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4040	1	4040	Brigham Hos,PB
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4058	0	0	Blake,HO-eat
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4194	0	0	Hunt,FH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4437	1	1777	Gardiner,RH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4462	1	4462	Morrison,FE
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4700	0	0	Rowell,CH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4794	1	4797	Chase,RS-eat
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4864	0	0	Whidden,R
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5183	0	0	Ellis,AH-ea
0	0	0	0	2	6901	2	6901	1	5610	1	5610	0	0	Farqukar,D+SH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5946	1	5946	1	5946	Associates,50
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7058	1	7058	1	7058	Proctor,TE-te
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7107	1	7107	Rice,NR-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7660	0	0	Rosenberg,S
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8267	0	0	Gaston,WA
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8434	1	11037	Ratshesky,AC
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9033	1	6022	Minot,W-e
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	10513	3	10513	Bradley,HB+CH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11021	1	11021	Farlow RET
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	13397	1	13397	Carpenter,GA
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	17293	2	13783	2	13783	Lawrence,J-eat
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	17640	0	0	Terminal Hotel
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	17178	4	17662	4	17662	Boston RET
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20329	0	0	Simpson,FE
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	6163	1	22353	1	22353	South St. Trus
1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	Hotel Assoc,US
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	42200	1	42200	1	42200	Loring,A-eat

1917: Ranked Owners

1922 : Ranked Owners

1867		1874		1883		1888		1898		1917		1922		
#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	#	AREA	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	872	1	872	Keefe,A-t
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1000	1	1000	1	1000	1	1000	Harris,TS
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1500	0	0	1	1162	Roth,EF
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1260	Aldrich,HH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1260	Goldstein,J
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1260	Goldstein,L+IE
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1400	Halpern,J
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1480	Purbeck,DB
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1595	Adams,CE-ea
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4437	1	1777	Gardiner,RH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1782	Stober,WJ
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1834	Ratshesky,HC
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1885	Baker,FH-eat
0	0	0	0	1	698	1	698	2	2563	4	3934	1	1890	Jones,ME
2	14898	3	16791	2	14143	2	14143	1	1893	1	1893	1	1893	City Boston
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1967	Sullivan,JE
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2000	1	2000	Perkins Instit
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2082	Shattuck,EM
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2125	Ellison,E
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2216	Douglas,WL
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2338	1	2338	Collins,J-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2599	2	2599	Hammond,EL-ea
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2955	Finkovitch,JH
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3011	Field,JW-ea
0	0	0	0	3	3480	3	3480	0	0	3	3480	3	3480	Evans,W-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3848	Searle,JE-t
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4040	1	4040	Brigham Hos,PB
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4058	Jolles,L-t
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4194	Hunt,FW-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4462	1	4462	Morrison,FE
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4794	1	4797	Chase,PS-eat
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4964	Gardiner,RH-ea
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5183	Rosenbush,AA
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5899	Gaston,WA-ea
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5946	1	5946	1	5946	Associates,50
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9033	1	6022	Minot,W-e
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6405	Lincoln R.Bg.T
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7058	1	7058	1	7058	Proctor,TE-te
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7107	1	7107	Rice,NR-h
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8344	Ma. Realty Com
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9700	Ryan,UM
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	10513	3	10513	Bradley,HB+CW
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11021	1	11021	Farlow RET
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8434	1	11037	Ratshesky,AC
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	13397	1	13397	Carpenter,GA
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	17293	2	13783	2	13783	Lawrence,J-eat
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14430	Gaston,WA-eat
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	17178	4	17662	4	17662	Boston RET
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	6163	1	22353	1	22353	South St. Trus
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	37719	Crocker,RB
1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	1	39924	Hotel Assoc,US
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	42200	1	42200	1	42200	Loring,A-eat



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